

MODERN EUROPE

G. Bell and Sons Ltd
Portugal Street, London, W.C. 2

Calcutta, Bombay & Madras
Longmans Green & Co. Ltd

Toronto
Clarke, Irwin & Co. Ltd

MODERN EUROPE

1789 to 1939

BY

A. E. ECCLESTONE, M.A.

Formerly Scholar of Peterhouse, Cambridge

Senior History Master

Whitgift Middle School, Croydon



LONDON

G. BELL & SONS LTD

1939

250

First published 1939

Printed in Great Britain by
NEILL & Co., LTD., EDINBURGH

PREFACE

THIS book is intended for candidates preparing for the School Certificate Examination. It has been designed, in the light of considerable experience of teaching and of School Certificate examining, as a one-year course in European History; and in consequence brevity and simplicity have been my aim rather than comprehensiveness. For the same reason I have not hesitated to indulge in repetition where necessary, in order to avoid irksome and fatiguing cross-references. While I claim no novelty in the treatment of the material, I have attempted to bring out a little more clearly than is usually done the economic realities which underlie and determine political movements and events.

The text is illustrated by numerous sketch-maps, specially drawn to clarify the main military operations and territorial changes of the period. While I agree that the frequent consultation of a good historical atlas is an ideal to be pursued where possible, I am convinced that it is one unattainable by the average overworked School Certificate candidate, and it is hoped that sufficient maps have been included to render the text intelligible without such frequent reference.

For convenience in revision, and for the saving of time unwillingly sacrificed to the dictation of notes, short chapter-summaries have been appended. And finally, in the hope that even the harassed examinee may develop some historical inquisitiveness, a few suggestions for further study have been included.

In conclusion, I should like to express my very deep gratitude for the help I have received from various friends in the writing of this book; and especially I should like

to thank Mr H. Butterfield, of Peterhouse, Cambridge, for a number of very helpful criticisms, and Mr H. L. Beales, of the London School of Economics, for some illuminating suggestions concerning the treatment of economic aspects of the period.

A. E. E.

CROYDON, 1939.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
Introduction : Europe in 1789	I
I. THE REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON	
I. France on the Eve of Revolution	7
II. The Monarchical Experiment	13
III. The Revolution at War	19
IV. The Terror	28
V. The Directory and the Rise of Napoleon	39
VI. The Consulate and the Empire	47
VII. The Downfall of Napoleon	56
II. THE AGE OF REACTION	
VIII. The Congress of Vienna	69
IX. The Years of Reaction	75
X. The Revolutions of 1830	81
XI. The Orleans Monarchy and the Second Empire	86
XII. The Revolutions of 1848	93
III. THE AGE OF NATIONALISM	
XIII. The Eastern Question and the Crimean War	105
XIV. The Unification of Italy	119
XV. The Union of Germany: I. Prussia and Austria	128
XVI. The Union of Germany: II. The Franco-Prussian War	137

IV. THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM

CHAP.	PAGE
XVII. Europe after 1870	147
XVIII. The French Republic and the German Empire	153
XIX. Russia in the Nineteenth Century	163
XX. Imperialism and World Power	172
XXI. The Alliances and the Armed Peace	183
XXII. The Eastern Question from the Treaty of Paris to the Great War	192

V. THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER

XXIII. The Great War	205
XXIV. Europe since the War	225
Guide to Further Reading	236
Summaries	238
Index	273

LIST OF MAPS

Europe in 1810	57
Waterloo	67
Europe in 1815	72
The Greek Rebellion	109
The Crimean War	114
The Balkans: Treaty of Paris, 1856	117
The Unification of Italy	123
The Union of Germany	135
The Franco-Prussian War	143
The Russo-Japanese War	169
The Partition of Africa	178
The Balkans: Treaty of Berlin, 1878	197
The Balkans: Treaty of Bucharest, 1913	203
Europe during the Great War	207
The Western Front	211
The Eastern Front	213
Europe after Versailles, 1919	227

INTRODUCTION: EUROPE IN 1789

THE shaping of modern Europe has been mainly determined by two forces: politically, by the French Revolution; in the economic sphere, by the industrial and commercial revolution which began in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The French Revolution shattered at a blow one of the oldest and most absolute despotisms in Europe, and at the same time gave rise to a new conception of political organisation, of popular sovereignty and of personal liberty which was to undermine the fabric of autocracy elsewhere, until by 1919 it seemed that democratic parliamentary government was to become the universal political system of European States. Simultaneously, it generated the powerful new force of Nationalism, the urge of peoples of the same blood and language to achieve at once unity and freedom from foreign domination; and so started the series of territorial rearrangements which culminated in the Peace Settlement of Versailles.

The Industrial Revolution, spreading outwards from England, travelling slowly across Europe from west to east, was to bring about a corresponding transformation in social and economic organisation. It was to replace primitive agriculture by large-scale industrial production, to overthrow the old feudal aristocracy in favour of a new commercial and manufacturing bourgeoisie, to enlarge the sphere of European economic activity until it included practically all the countries of the world.

In order to understand the magnitude of these changes and the potency of the forces which produced them, it is necessary to gain some conception of the political, social,

and economic condition of Europe before it was submerged by the flood of revolution.

The European Political System. The first factor in pre-revolutionary Europe which calls for notice is the arrangement known as the 'Balance of Power'—the delicate and unstable equilibrium of the Great Powers, each striving to gain an advantage or to establish its ascendancy at the expense of the others, and combining in temporary alliances with its neighbours to destroy the undue predominance of a successful rival. Five states at this time possessed the status of Great Powers—England, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Of these, England, by reason of its insular position, stood a little aloof from the European conflict, and sought rather colonial aggrandisement than continental pre-eminence. Possessed of a stable, efficient, and reasonably free government, of an extensive Empire and wide trading connections, of good natural resources and of highly developed industries, rapidly being transformed with the aid of machinery and power, England was already on the way to achieving an unrivalled industrial and commercial ascendancy.

Among the continental Powers, France still retained something of the supremacy which the ambitions of Louis XIV and the ability of his ministers had enabled her to acquire at the end of the seventeenth century. She was still the leader of European civilisation, the glass of fashion, the source of enlightenment and culture. But the strain of a series of exhausting wars, the feeble and corrupt government of Louis XV, and the weakness of the financial system had brought her to the edge of bankruptcy and collapse. Her principal rival in Europe, and, until the 'diplomatic revolution' of 1756, her constant antagonist in diplomacy and war, was the Hapsburg Power of Austria. The position of the Hapsburg Emperor presented a curious duality. As head of the 'Holy Roman Empire' he was the supreme monarch of Christendom and enjoyed a nominal overlordship over the whole of what is now Germany. But that institution was a mere anachronism, a

relic of the Middle Ages; Voltaire described it as 'neither holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire'; the 360 petty states of which it was composed were in fact entirely independent of his authority. His power rested not there, but in the possession of extensive, though scattered, territories acquired by the House of Hapsburg through fortunate marriages or successful diplomacy in the past, which included, beside Austria itself, the Kingdom of Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia, Belgium, Lombardy, and the duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. The wide extent of these dominions made the Hapsburg ruler a formidable power in Europe; but the absence of any bond of union, save that of personal allegiance to a common sovereign, was to prove a source of increasing weakness to the Empire.

The ascendancy of the Emperor in Germany and Central Europe was already coming to be challenged by the rising power of Prussia, under the rule of the able and energetic Hohenzollern line. Beginning as Electors of Brandenburg in the later Middle Ages, the Hohenzollern rulers had gradually enlarged their territories by diplomacy and conquest, until by the eighteenth century the Kingdom of Prussia included—in addition to Brandenburg—East Prussia, Pomerania and some scattered territories to the west of Germany. Only recently the ablest and most ruthless of the Hohenzollerns, Frederick the Great, had added Silesia (wrested from Austria) and West Prussia (taken from Poland), thus giving his dominions some cohesion and unity. Prussia was the Sparta of eighteenth-century Europe; naked and unabashed militarism was the source of its strength and the core of its national life.

To the east lay the vast and increasingly formidable Empire of Russia. Long isolated from European civilisation, Russia had but lately been forcibly 'westernised' by Peter the Great; its culture and institutions had been at least superficially modernised; its frontiers had been advanced to the Baltic Sea; and it had begun to play an important part in European diplomacy. Under Catherine II, its

territorial extent and political importance were steadily increasing at the expense of its immediate neighbours—Poland and Turkey. Powerful, inaccessible, semi-barbarous, Russia appeared to Western Europe at once a menace and an enigma.

The lesser states of Europe must be more briefly mentioned. Sweden still remembered that she had been a Great Power in the days of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII; but her predominance in Northern Europe had been overthrown by the rise of Russia and of Prussia; and she was sinking into comparative insignificance. Holland, a semi-monarchical republic under the hereditary Stadtholderate of the House of Orange, had lost something of her seventeenth-century brilliance, but still ranked as one of the wealthiest commercial Powers in Europe. Spain, now under the rule of a branch of the Bourbon family, remained the classic example of stagnation and decay. Of her once dazzling grandeur and might there remained only the colonial empire in the New World, even now slipping from her grasp; at home a corrupt and incapable Government, an arrogant and reactionary nobility, and the backwardness of industry and commerce blighted any prospect of recovery or progress. Italy was a 'geographical expression,' a political patchwork consisting of the Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont in the north-east, the Duchy of Milan under Austrian rule, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the duchies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany and Lucca, the Papal States, and the 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' in the south. These, with the little republic of Switzerland and the decaying Turkish Empire, which still covered the Balkan Peninsula, made up the political system of eighteenth-century Europe.

Enlightened Despotism. In the majority of these states the prevailing type of government was absolute despotism, the unquestioned and autocratic sway of long-established dynasties—Bourbon, Hapsburg, Hohenzollern or Romanoff. To this rule there were certain important exceptions: England had replaced direct monarchical rule

by that of an oligarchy of landlords; Holland and Switzerland were republics; and Poland, until its extinction at the hands of its powerful neighbours,¹ was an organised anarchy. None the less, despotism was the political norm; but this despotism, we must note, was of a peculiar kind. The eighteenth century was the age of enlightenment; and the monarchs of our period were influenced by the most advanced and liberal views concerning the well-being of their peoples. They sought in every way to increase the prosperity and improve the minds of their subjects. Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86) promoted drainage schemes, encouraged the immigration of foreign craftsmen, stimulated education, codified the laws of his country. Joseph II of Austria (1765-90) tried to get rid of aristocratic privileges, to establish a uniform system of law and government in his dominions, to destroy the reactionary influence of the Church. Catherine II of Russia (1762-96) reorganised local government, founded schools, and revised the legal system. Even Louis XVI of France (1774-92) was not devoid of this reforming zeal, though his efforts proved too spasmodic and too half-hearted to mollify the growing discontent of the middle-class and the peasants. The rulers of pre-revolutionary Europe were, then, neither tyrannical nor unprogressive; they were willing to do anything for their subjects except, in the words of a famous epigram, to get off their backs.

Social and Economic Structure. Under the benevolent sway of the dynastic despots there existed a society strangely rigid and stratified in its composition. At the top, a small, exclusive order of nobility, descendants of the feudal lords who had once proved so great a menace to royal authority—now tamed and deprived of their political and military authority, yet still in possession of great wealth and privilege, owners of the land, sole entrants to the highest offices in Church and State, living a life as remote from that of ordinary men as if they had been inhabi-

¹ The First Partition took place in 1772 (see p. 25).

tants of another planet. Below, a thin bourgeois layer, a class of merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, doctors—men of wealth and substance, but without entry into that glittering little world in which the great prizes of social and political distinction were to be gained. Below them, a more numerous but still comparatively small class of craftsmen and artisans, an urban proletariat. And lastly, forming the great bulk of the population, the peasants, still semi-servile, or barely struggling out of serfdom, burdened with dues and taxes and services, scratching together a bare living by means of the primitive open-field system by which their ancestors had cultivated the land of mediæval Europe. Such is the structure of society which we should find, with little variation, throughout Europe, except in those few places where commercial and industrial activity had reached a different level—in the Italian cities, in Holland, in England, where the new world was already coming into existence.

The Age of Enlightenment. One other feature of pre-revolutionary Europe remains to be noticed—the ferment of intellectual activity which was going on almost everywhere. The source and inspiration of that activity was France; its leaders were Rousseau, Voltaire and the Encyclopædists. But the movement was not confined to France. In England it produced Hume, Gibbon and Adam Smith; in Germany, Goethe and Kant and Schiller; in America, Benjamin Franklin. It was an age of scepticism, of inquiry, of relentless logic and passionate humanitarianism; an age in which the ideal world of the philosophers conflicted ever more sharply with the actual realities of autocratic government, unjust privilege and intolerable oppression. It was, in short, an age ripe for revolution.

PART I

THE REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON
(1789-1815)

CHAPTER I

FRANCE ON THE EVE OF REVOLUTION

The Condition of France. The French Revolution was the product not of despair, but of hope. It took place in a country which was, after England, the most prosperous in Europe, and in which the material condition of the people had been steadily improving throughout the century. Between the death of Louis XIV in 1715 and the summoning of the States-General in 1789, the foreign trade of France had quadrupled; and the great ports—Nantes, Bordeaux, Marseilles—were rich and flourishing. In industry, France was undergoing the first stages of a great transformation comparable to that which was to make England the workshop of the world: the iron-works of Creusot and Indret had been established; the inventions of Arkwright and Crompton were being introduced, and cotton-spinning factories had been set up at Brives, Amiens and Orleans; coal-mining was carried on on a big scale by joint-stock companies. Internal communications were being rapidly improved by the building of roads, bridges and canals. Even the peasant, though his condition was still deplorable, was better off than in the neighbouring countries, and was improving his position by acquiring ownership of the land. In intellect, in fashion, and in social customs France was the leader of Europe. The Revolution was the protest of the vigorous and progressive classes against the shackles of an outworn, mediæval

social organisation. It may be attributed to the combination of three factors: an unjust and oppressive social system, the challenge of new philosophical and political ideas, and the complete break-down of the Government. ✓

The Social System. At the head of French Society stood the two privileged 'Orders'—the clergy and the nobility. ✓ Both had rendered important services in previous centuries: the nobles in war and government, the clergy in education, culture and religion. ✓ But the absolutist policy of Richelieu had deprived the nobility of any political or military functions, while the higher clergy had abandoned their religious duties and even, in many cases, the pretence of religious belief. ✓ Both Orders were enormously rich—the clergy, constituting 1·8 per cent. of the population, had an income of 200,000,000 livres; but wealth within the Orders was very unequally distributed. ✓ The Prince-bishop of Strasbourg enjoyed an income of 800,000 livres, while the parish priest barely existed on 350. The term 'Noblesse' covered a wide range, from the great Court families like the House of Orleans, with an income of 8,000,000 livres, to down-at-heel Don Quixotes starving in ruined manor-houses. ✓ But both Orders enjoyed almost complete immunity from taxation, and a monopoly of the highest positions in Church, Army, Government and Society. ✓

Thrusting against this rigid barrier of caste was a vigorous and progressive middle-class. The lawyers—provincial attorneys and advocates—resented their exclusion from the highest offices and the stigma of social inferiority under which they laboured. ✓ Intelligent, cultured, fired with the new philosophy, it was this class—men like Danton and Robespierre—who were to be the spear-head of the Revolution. The commercial and manufacturing bourgeoisie, equally enterprising and energetic, chafed at the obsolete mediæval survivals and mercantilist restrictions—gilds, internal customs duties, chaotic weights and measures—which blocked their path at every turn; and they had an additional grievance, since the Commercial Treaty with England of 1786, with its reciprocal lowering of duties, had

proved disastrous to many manufactures. The treaty also led to unemployment and distress amongst the urban proletariat, the artisans and factory workers, who, while not numerous enough to constitute an important influence, added a dangerous element of ferocity and mob violence to the revolutionary make-up.

The broad basis on which the whole society rested was the peasants, who constituted the great majority of the population. Their status was improving: serfdom was dying out, and not more than a million peasants were unfree; a large section were proprietors—Arthur Young, travelling through France before the Revolution, estimated that one-third to one-half of the land belonged to the peasants. But they bore a crushing burden of feudal and financial obligations. To the State they paid a very heavy direct tax—the *taille*—and oppressive indirect taxes like the hated *gabelle* (salt-tax). To the lord they owed payments for their land (*cens, champart*, etc.), payments for the use of the lord's mill, oven, and wine-press (*banalités*), and payments on the transfer of land (*lods et ventes*). The French historian Taine estimated that out of every 100 francs of taxation the peasant paid 53 to the State, 14 to the lord in dues, and 14 to the Church in tithes. Perhaps the bitterest of their grievances was the game laws, by which they were compelled to stand by while the lord's pigeons or game destroyed their crops. The last straw was added by the revival by many lords of ancient court-rolls by which old obligations were renewed. It was these grievances which led to the 'Great Fear' and the château-burning of July 1789.

The New Enlightenment. The injustice and oppression of the social system was rendered more striking by the writings of philosophers and satirists who both attacked the old Society and pointed the way to a new. Montesquieu, in *L'Esprit des Loix*, showed the evils of absolute government, and held up the English Constitution to admiration as a model of freedom. The economic theorists—the Physiocrats—knocked the bottom out of the Mercantilists'

regulations with their new gospel of *laissez-faire, laissez-passer*. Voltaire, in a series of brilliant, witty, satirical poems, novels and pamphlets, ridiculed orthodox religion and the rigid, reactionary attitude of the Church. Rousseau, in his *Social Contract*, provided the revolutionaries with their creed: he taught that 'man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains,' and that only a State which was controlled by the 'General Will' of its subjects had any title to obedience. Finally, the American War of Independence gave a practical demonstration of the revolution in action; young French volunteers like the Marquis de Lafayette enlisted in the American armies, and came home with the phrases of the Declaration of Independence still ringing in their ears. Rousseau and America provided the French bourgeois rebel with the essentials of revolution—a doctrine and an ideal.

The Break-down of Government. France in 1789 was an ill-assorted bundle of historical anachronisms; Calonne, Louis XVI's Finance Minister, gave a vivid description of its political system: 'France is a kingdom composed of separate states and countries, with mixed administrations, where certain districts are completely free from burdens the whole weight of which is borne by others, where the richest class is the most lightly taxed, where it is impossible to have any constant rule or common will: necessarily it is a most imperfect kingdom, very full of abuses, and, in its present condition, impossible to govern.'

The impossibility was becoming more and more apparent. The work of the Government offices was hopelessly in arrears; and France was staggering towards bankruptcy. A Government which exempted the rich from taxation, farmed out the taxes to private contractors, and paid huge pensions to numerous courtiers could hardly expect to be rich; but the tremendous burden of the Seven Years War and the American War of Independence had brought about a complete break-down. To remedy these conditions would have needed a ruler of great ability and iron will; but Louis XVI was not such a ruler. Like

Charles I of England, he possessed all the domestic virtues, and was quite incapable of governing. Like Charles also, he was unfortunate in his wife: Marie Antoinette, brilliant, beautiful and strong-willed, exerted an influence invariably harmful; and the nicknames which the people bestowed on her—'L'Autrichienne' and 'Mme Déficit'—testify to her unpopularity as a foreigner and as a spendthrift. ✓ The history of the reign is the history of a series of attempts to stave off the ever-growing financial danger, frustrated by the opposition of Queen and Court, until bankruptcy produced revolution. ✓

The reign opened promisingly: Louis appointed as Minister of Finance Turgot, the disciple of the Physiocrats, who had already earned a reputation by his enlightened administration of the Limousin. Turgot attempted drastic reform: ✓ he brought forward edicts abolishing guilds and internal customs duties; he proposed to end tax-farming and State loans and to establish local representative institutions. ✓ But the influence of Queen and Court proved too strong; Turgot was dismissed and his work undone. His successor, Necker (1776-81), a Swiss financier with a great but unmerited reputation, attempted to stave off the inevitable crash by wholesale borrowing; in all, he contracted additional loans of 600,000,000 livres. Like Turgot, ✓ he proposed the establishment of provincial representative assemblies; and he suffered Turgot's fate. ✓ With Calonne (Finance Minister, 1783-84) all hopes of solvency disappeared. Calonne attempted to restore confidence by reckless spending and wilder borrowing; but by 1787 even his optimism was exhausted. He advised the King to summon an Assembly of Notables in order to obtain their consent to the taxation of the privileged Orders; but the Assembly stubbornly resisted, and Calonne was overthrown. The Government made a last attempt to force taxation of the Orders through the *Parlement* of Paris, the Court of lawyers by whom royal edicts had to be registered; and again it was defeated. ✓ (The Government was at the end of its tether. ✓ Bankruptcy was inevitable. In 1789

receipts amounted to 475,000,000 livres and expenditure to 600,000,000; and of this 300,000,000 went in interest on State loans. The provincial *Parlements*¹ were in open rebellion; taxes could no longer be collected; drought and hailstorms in the summer of 1788 caused food shortage and bread riots. Only one hope remained—to summon the States-General, the Assembly of the Nation, which had not met since 1614, and to put the case before them. In January 1789 a royal decree fixed the method of election: the clergy and nobles were to be represented directly, and the deputies of the Third Estate were to be elected through a series of assemblies; and the electors were to draw up 'Cahiers de Doléances'—statements of their grievances. Absolute government had failed; and now the nation was to save itself.

¹ Local assemblies, corresponding to the *Parlement* of Paris, which still maintained considerable control over the government of the provinces.

CHAPTER II

THE MONARCHICAL EXPERIMENT

THE ten years which lie between the opening of the States-General and the seizure of power by Bonaparte—perhaps the most dramatic and significant decade in European history—fall into four clearly marked divisions.

The Revolution begins with the attempt of the Constituent Assembly (1789-91) to build a new France, governed by a constitutional monarchy on the English model, in which privilege should be abolished and irresponsible despotism replaced by the rule of law. The second phase (1791-3) sees the break-down of the monarchical experiment, owing to the opposition of the King and the menace of foreign invasion; and the Republic, under the leadership of the Girondins, representing mainly the upper middle-class, turns to face an alarmed and militant Europe. In the third period (1793-4) defeat abroad, dissension at home and a growing economic crisis lead to the triumph of the extremists—the Jacobins—the party of the lesser bourgeoisie and the Paris proletariat, who establish a dictatorship of terror, and by ruthless extermination of domestic enemies and heroic defence against foreign invaders save France from anarchy, and the Revolution from extinction. Finally, with the downfall of Robespierre in 1794, the revolutionary impulse exhausts itself, and France, weary of blood-letting and strife, reverts to the easier, if less efficient, rule of the middle-class Directory; while a successful war of aggression prepares the way for the triumph of a military dictator.

The prevailing mood of the early months of 1789 was one of extravagant optimism and of fervent loyalty to the King. The *Cahiers* express widespread discontent; the

nobles protest against despotic rule, against Intendants and *lettres de cachet*;¹ the lower clergy denounce the luxury and idleness of their superiors; the Third Estate demand the removal of restraints on trade, the abolition of feudal dues, the end of privilege and exemption: all classes clamour for a constitution and financial reform. But the general belief is that a new age is dawning, and that, under the benevolent guidance of the King, a new France is about to be made. If the privileged classes had been prepared to make sacrifices, if the King had had the courage and energy to place himself at the head of his people and carry through reform, the Revolution might have been averted. But the nobles fought to maintain their privileges, and the King, after a long time on the fence, came down on the side of the old order.

✓ The Tennis Court Oath. The opportunity was lost at the beginning. At the opening of the States-General on May 5th, 1789, Necker, who had been recalled to the Controller-Generalship, made a feeble and inconclusive speech, offering no comprehensive scheme of reform. The first question to be settled was that of procedure: were the three Orders to sit and vote as separate bodies or as a single assembly? Although the Third Estate had been granted representation equal to the other two, separate sittings would have rendered them powerless, and this they were determined to prevent. After a month of fruitless negotiation, the Third Estate summoned the other two Orders to join them and declared themselves 'the National Assembly.' On June 20th the King prepared to hold a Royal Session, and the members of the Third Estate found the doors of their Assembly Hall locked. They adjourned to a neighbouring tennis court, and took a solemn oath not to separate until they had made a constitution. Louis attempted coercion: he ordered the Estates to sit apart, and sent a message commanding the deputies to withdraw. Mirabeau, the leader of the Third Estate, replied that they were there by the will of the people, and

¹ Royal letters under which people were imprisoned without trial.

would not disperse save at the bayonet's point. The King gave way, and on July 27th instructed the nobles and clergy to join the Third Estate. The Revolution had begun.

The Fall of the Bastille. So far the conflict had lain between the deputies and the Court; a third element now appears—the Paris mob. Early in July loyal troops were concentrated in Versailles and Necker was dismissed. Paris suspected the King of intending a *coup d'état*; and, on July 14th, stirred up by the fiery speeches of a young journalist, Camille Desmoulins, a mob seized arms from Les Invalides and stormed the ancient royal fortress of the Bastille. The resistance offered was insignificant, and the capture was a sordid episode of mob violence. But it is not without reason that July 14th became the sacred day of revolution. The fall of the Bastille proved the weakness of the Government; it revealed the power of the mob; and it convinced the country that authority was at an end.

Louis made his peace with the Revolution by going to Paris, adopting the tricolour cockade and recognising the revolutionary Government (the Commune of Paris) and the revolutionary militia (the National Guard).¹ And the provinces proceeded to follow the example of Paris. Communes were set up and Government officials driven out or murdered; the peasants seized the opportunity to rid themselves of their burdens by burning the feudal title-deeds and sometimes the châteaux that contained them. Anarchy had broken loose; and a general panic—the 'Great Fear'—spread over France.

The Days of August and October. Impelled partly by fear and partly by revolutionary fervour, the Assembly determined to make an end of the *Ancien Régime*. On the night of August 4th–5th, amid scenes of hysterical enthusiasm, the deputies voted the abolition of feudal dues, tithes, exemptions from taxation, game rights, and all the old social structure of France. Having broken with the past, they went on to lay down plans for the future. The

¹ A 'People's Army' formed by the Commune, with Lafayette as its commander.

Declaration of the Rights of Man, adopted on August 27th, was the manifesto of the Revolution. It proclaimed the 'sacred and inalienable rights' of liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression, and announced that all power was derived from the people. Finally, the Assembly proceeded to the detailed work of making a constitution. But its deliberations were interrupted. Food was scarce in Paris and discontent was rising. Louis had brought the loyal Flanders regiments to Versailles, and their officers had given vent, during a banquet, to very anti-revolutionary sentiments. Once more Paris showed its strength; on October 5th a disorderly mob, headed by women from the slums of the Saint-Antoine quarter, marched to Versailles, terrified the Assembly and attacked the royal palace. Lafayette, arriving belatedly with the National Guard, was able to restore order; but on the following day a grotesque procession set out for Paris, preceded by the heads of the King's soldiers mounted on pikes, with a coach containing the King and his family—the baker, the baker's wife, and the little baker's boy—in the midst. The King was lodged in the Tuileries; the Assembly followed shortly after, and Paris assumed control of the Revolution.

The Constitution. Meanwhile the debates on the Constitution were going on, and bit by bit the new Government of France was being built up. The first step was the reorganisation of local government. To complete the break with the past, the old provinces, with their individual and separatist traditions, were swept away. France was divided into eighty-three departments, named after natural features; and the departments were subdivided into districts (*arrondissements*) and communes. Each of these divisions was to be governed by elected assemblies. In the central Government the King remained the head of the Executive, but with limited powers and with only a four-year suspensive veto on legislation. Following Montesquieu's misguided doctrine of the separation of powers, the Assembly resolved that the King's ministers could not be members of the Legislative Assembly, thus rendering

co-operation between the two branches impossible. The Legislature was to be a single chamber, chosen by indirect election; only those who paid taxes to the value of three days' labour were entitled to vote. Finally, the judicial system was reorganised, judges being elected and torture abolished. The Constitution was unworkable from the beginning; based on a limited franchise and paralysed by the exclusion of ministers from the Assembly, it had no hope of success. A shrewd American observer in Paris said that 'the Almighty Himself could not make it work unless He created a new species of man.' In any case, it demanded the loyal co-operation of the King; and the measures which the Assembly was to adopt with regard to religion turned the King into a resolute opponent.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Two questions remained to be settled—finance and religion. The Assembly had abolished the old taxes, but had not succeeded in devising a successful substitute; and the Government was still insolvent. The obvious remedy was to appropriate the enormous wealth of the Church. This was done by a decree of November 1789, and, to raise money for immediate necessity, paper money (*assignats*), based on the value of Church lands, was issued. This had two important effects: it bound the purchasers of Church land (mainly peasants) to the Revolution, while the steady increase by the Government of the number of assignats in circulation produced all the evils of unlimited inflation—social distress and State bankruptcy. This, however, lay in the future; in the meanwhile it was necessary to provide for the upkeep of the clergy. On July 12th, 1790, the Assembly adopted the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; the Church was made a State institution; bishops and priests, paid by the State, were to be elected by assemblies of the department and commune; the jurisdiction of the Pope was simply set aside. This was the most disastrous blunder of the Constituent Assembly—disastrous because it caused a profound division amongst the people, but even more because it finally alienated the King from the Revolution. Louis was

a good Catholic, and he resolved that he 'would rather be King of Metz than continue to be King of France in such a position as the present.'

The Flight to Varennes. Thus the monarchical experiment was already doomed. Two events in the year 1791 hastened the downfall of the monarchy: the death of Mirabeau and the flight to Varennes. Mirabeau, beside being a rake and something of a rogue, was also a statesman, and he had realised by the end of 1789 that the salvation of France lay in the preservation of a strong executive. From that time until his death he worked steadily for the maintenance of the King's power; he fought unsuccessfully for an absolute veto, and succeeded in preserving to the King the power of making war and peace; he became the secret adviser of the Court, and attempted to guide the King through the constitutional and religious conflicts of 1790.

The attempt failed: the King deceived him and the Assembly suspected him of personal ambition; but his death on April 2nd, 1791, removed the last steady influence. The King, increasingly dominated by Marie Antoinette, resolved to escape from Paris and to put himself at the head of the loyal army, commanded by the Marquis de Bouillé, on the eastern frontier. At midnight on June 20th, 1791, a huge travelling-carriage set out for the frontier; but Louis was recognised by the post-master Drouet at Sainte-Menehould, and the carriage was stopped at Varennes and brought back to Paris. Meanwhile the Assembly had discovered a document left by Louis denouncing the Constitution. The situation was awkward; the monarchy still seemed indispensable; the Assembly saved its face by inventing the fiction that the King had been 'abducted.' Revolutionary Paris was less complaisant, and a Republican demonstration on the Champ de Mars had to be dispersed by armed force. But for the moment moderation triumphed. On September 14th the King accepted the Constitution, and the Constituent Assembly, its work completed, dissolved itself on the 30th. The less cautious *émigrés* returned to their burrows; the Revolution seemed to be at an end.

CHAPTER III

THE REVOLUTION AT WAR

The Legislative Assembly. The new Legislature designed by the Constitution met on October 1st, 1791. As a crowning blunder, the Constituent Assembly had decreed that none of its members should be eligible, and the 745 deputies who now took their seats were new men. But they had lived through the events of the last two years, and their outlook was necessarily more revolutionary than that of the Constituent Assembly. The members soon divided into three main groups. On the Right sat the *Feuillants*, moderate men who believed in the Constitution and wanted no further change. Opposed to them, on the Left, was the *Girondin* group, so called because its most eloquent orators, Vergniaud, Gensonné and Guadet, came from the Gironde; but its real leader was Brissot, deputy for Paris, and its inspiration was the beautiful and brilliant Mme Roland. The Girondins, part idealists, part careerists, were determined to overthrow the monarchy and establish a Republic of Virtue on the Roman model. They were not numerically predominant in the Assembly, but they derived great strength from the support of the Jacobin Club, the revolutionary society which had been founded in Paris in 1789, and which had now established branches all over France; and they had at their command the terrible weapon of the Paris mob. Between these two parties—Feuillants and Girondins—there was a large centre group, without any coherent policy, easily dominated by eloquence or fear.

The Girondins soon found occasion for conflict with the King. In the winter of 1791 the Legislative Assembly passed two decrees against the enemies of the

Constitution. One threatened priests who refused to take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution with loss of stipend and two years' imprisonment, the other ordered the *émigré* nobles to return on pain of death. Both these decrees were vetoed by the King. The monarchy was in danger; the thing that made its downfall certain was the intervention of foreign Powers on its behalf.

The Coming of War. The early events of the Revolution had been received by the rest of Europe rather with favour than condemnation. Liberal minds everywhere hailed with joy the overthrow of tyranny. Wordsworth expressed this feeling in England:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
To be young was very heaven ;

and Fox said of the fall of the Bastille: 'How much the greatest event that has ever happened in the world and how much the best!' The statesman, on the other hand, was delighted at the prospect of a powerful rival being put out of action. When Burke said that the French 'had done their business for us as rivals in a way which twenty Ramillies and Blenheims never have done,' he was expressing the thoughts of Catherine of Russia, Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Prussia. But the attitude of the Powers, especially of Austria, gradually hardened into hostility. There was the question of compensation for the German princes of Alsace, subjects of the Holy Roman Empire, who had been deprived of their feudal rights by the decrees of August 4th abolishing feudalism. There was the question of the *émigré* nobles, who had taken refuge at Coblenz, whence they breathed fire and slaughter against the Revolution. There was the natural indignation of Leopold II at the treatment of his sister, Marie Antoinette. Finally, there was the prospect of spoils on the eastern frontier of France. Leopold himself was anxious to avoid war; he had contented himself with issuing, together with Frederick William II, the half-hearted *Declaration of Pillnitz* (August 1791)

proposing intervention in France provided that the other Powers would join in—a condition which he knew to be impossible of realisation. But he died in March 1792, and his successor, Francis II, adopted a much more bellicose attitude.

On her side, France was driving steadily towards war. Royalists welcomed it as a method of reviving the King's power. The Girondins worked for it as a method of overthrowing the monarchy, by revealing the Court's connection with the *émigrés* and with foreign Powers. As Brissot bloodthirstily put it: 'We have need of great treasons.' And beyond these immediate aims was the fact that the French Revolution, like the Russian, was by its very nature militant and propagandist. The apostles of Liberty naturally wanted proselytes; and as a Girondin orator proclaimed: 'No danger should make the French nation forget that the law of Equality is universal.' The Girondins prevailed. In March 1792 the Feuillant ministry was overthrown and a Girondin Government was set up, with Roland as Minister of the Interior and Dumouriez, 'the last great adventurer of the eighteenth century,' in charge of foreign affairs. Within a month they had forced the King to declare war on Austria (April 20th, 1792). The war which they had provoked was to bring about the downfall of the monarchy and then of the Girondins themselves; it was to establish Bonaparte upon the throne of France; and it was to exhaust and desolate Europe for the next twenty-three years.

The Fall of the Monarchy. For the war into which France had so rashly plunged she was wholly unprepared. The old regular army had been thrown into hopeless confusion by the Revolution, many of its officers having emigrated; the new volunteers had not yet been organised and were undisciplined and mutinous. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the war opened disastrously. In April the French troops disgracefully fled before the Austrians. Immediately the conflict between the Girondins and the Court was intensified. The Girondins rightly

suspected Marie Antoinette of treasonable correspondence with the enemy. The King was deprived of his Constitutional Guard, and decrees were passed by the Assembly sentencing non-juring priests to death, and providing for the enrolment of a volunteer army outside Paris. Louis vetoed these decrees and dismissed the Girondin ministers. On June 20th the first insurrection against the monarchy took place: a mob invaded the Tuileries and insulted the King; but the first insurrection failed. The situation grew steadily worse. In July Prussia joined Austria, and an allied army under the Duke of Brunswick was massed on the eastern frontier. Early in August a Manifesto issued by Brunswick, threatening the city with destruction if the King were harmed, reached Paris. The Manifesto stirred up a ferment of rage and fear, and the excitement was heightened by the arrival of volunteers from the provinces chanting the 'Marching Song of the Army of the Rhine'—'The Marseillaise.' The part played by songs in the making of history has never received its due recognition; some day 'Lillibullero,' 'The Marseillaise,' and 'John Brown's Body' will take their place beside the Ninety-five Theses and the *Social Contract*.

The excitement thus generated was skilfully used by Danton and the Jacobins. On August 10th the Government of Paris was superseded by a new Commune elected by the Sections.¹ Mandat, the Commander of the National Guard, was deprived of his command and murdered, and an armed and angry mob attacked the Tuileries. The King and Queen fled to the protection of the Assembly, and there, huddled in a reporter's box, heard the terrified deputies decree the suspension of the monarchy. Shortly after, the Royal Family was imprisoned in the Temple. The reign of Louis XVI was over.

The September Massacres. The Legislative Assembly completed its work by setting up a new Girondin ministry, with Danton, the real victor of August 10th, as Minister of Justice; and a new Assembly, the National Convention,

¹ Electoral 'wards' into which Paris had been divided in 1790.

was summoned to revise the Constitution. Meanwhile the war danger was increasing. In August the allied army, under Brunswick, invaded France by the line of the Moselle. The fortress of Longwy was captured and Verdun was about to fall; and the fall of Verdun would leave the way to Paris open. A second wave of panic produced the most terrible episode of the Revolution—the September Massacres. The prisons of Paris were filled with non-juring priests, aristocrats and suspects, and the rumour spread that a Royalist conspiracy was afoot. Between September 2nd and 5th the prisoners were fetched up in batches before hastily established tribunals, condemned, and massacred by paid butchers. Over a thousand victims perished in this dreadful ‘purge.’ The responsibility has never been finally assigned, but it is certain that Marat, who had been made head of a ‘Committee of Surveillance’ for searching out suspects, cannot be acquitted. Danton, though not directly concerned, made no effort to stop the bloodshed. The Massacres achieved their object in terrorising the Royalists; but an example had been set which was not forgotten: France had had a foretaste of the Terror.

The Execution of Louis XVI. The National Convention, which assembled on September 20th, 1792, illustrates that steady movement to the Left which characterises the Revolution down to the fall of Robespierre. The elections were based on universal suffrage, and had been stage-managed by the Jacobin Clubs in the provinces. As a result, the Girondins, the rebels of the Legislative Assembly, now found themselves on the defensive, and became the conservative Right; they were opposed by the Mountain (so called because its members sat high on the left of the Assembly), the leaders of which were Danton, Robespierre and Marat, and the strength of which lay in the Paris Commune and the Jacobin Club. The conflict between Girondins and the Mountain has been variously interpreted. It has been described as a clash of personal ambitions, or as a struggle between the provinces and Paris for domination; it has been magnified into a class-war—the Girondins

representing the upper bourgeoisie, the merchants and bankers, the party of property and *laissez-faire*, while the Mountain represented the lower middle-class and proletariat, and stood for social justice and State control in the interests of the oppressed. All these elements were present; and the overthrow of the Girondins can only be explained by taking into account both the growing economic crisis—the steady depreciation of *assignats*, unemployment, and the break-down of food supplies—on the one hand, and crushing military defeat on the other. One great advantage the Mountain possessed: they had a clear-cut programme, and they knew their own minds.

The first episode in the struggle was the execution of the King. The Convention had begun by the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic. The discovery of the 'iron chest,' containing papers revealing the intrigues of Louis with Mirabeau and the *émigrés*, roused fierce hostility to the King. The Mountain pressed for his execution, because it would divide their Girondin enemies, and because 'Royalty is an eternal crime.' Louis was brought before the Convention for trial; fear prevailed over conscience among the Girondins; the death sentence was passed by a narrow majority, and on January 31st, 1793, the King was guillotined. As the vote was taken Danton whispered to a Girondin leader, 'Your party is ruined!' He was soon proved to be right.

The Revolutionary War. While the Republic was being set up at home, the danger from abroad was passing away. Verdun had fallen on September 2nd; but the cautious Brunswick failed to follow up his advantage and gave Dumouriez time to reorganise his forces. On September 20th the Prussian commander found his path blocked by the French army, drawn up in a strong position on the hill of Valmy. Under the Prussian cannonade the raw volunteers stood firm, and Brunswick, after imitating the tactics of the immortal Duke of York, retired from the field. As a battle Valmy was insignificant; yet Goethe rightly said that it marked a new epoch in the history of

the world. France was saved, and the invincible Prussian army had been repulsed. The tide of war turned immediately in favour of France. Brunswick retired across the Rhine, and a French army under Custine took Speyer and Mainz. In the Netherlands, Dumouriez defeated the Austrians at Jémappes, and by the end of the year he had conquered all Belgium. A third French army occupied Savoy and Nice. France was everywhere victorious.

But the triumph was short-lived. The French victory was due not so much to their own strength as to the divisions and dissensions of their enemies. Austria and Prussia were already at loggerheads over the partition of Poland. The question of Poland plays so large a part in determining the issue of the revolutionary war that some account of her misfortunes is necessary. Weak and disunited, crippled by an elective monarchy and a purely feudal constitution, Poland was a tempting prey to the surrounding Powers. Already, by the Partition of 1772, Russia, Austria and Prussia had helped themselves to large slices of Polish territory adjoining their own frontiers. Since then Poland had made a valiant effort at recovery, and in 1791 a drastic reform of the Constitution was carried out. Catherine II, alarmed at this resurrection, had sent Russian troops to overthrow the new Government; and Frederick William had joined in to get his share of the spoils. By the Second Partition (January 1793) Russia and Prussia acquired extensive additions of Polish territory; and Austria was completely left out. It was this rupture between Austria and Prussia which had made possible the French victory. But now Austria was to receive help from other sources.

The First Coalition. So far Pitt had, with difficulty, maintained English neutrality. But the events of the winter of 1792-3 forced his hand. In November the Convention had issued its wild challenge, offering help to all peoples against their rulers; the conquest of Belgium violated that principle of English policy in defence of which she had already fought Philip II of Spain and Louis XIV

of France, and was to fight William II of Germany; the opening by France of the navigation of the Scheldt broke a recent treaty to which England was a party; and, finally, the execution of the King roused passionate indignation.

War was inevitable, and in February 1793 France declared war on England and Holland. By the end of March the revolutionary Government was threatened by a great coalition which included England, Holland, Austria, Russia and Spain. The renewal of hostilities produced a complete catastrophe. An Austrian army entered Belgium, and defeated Dumouriez at Neerwinden (March). Dumouriez, chafing at the close control of the War Minister, and thinking the occasion ripe for a Royalist *coup d'état*, tried to march on Paris and overthrow the Government, and when the plot failed, Dumouriez deserted to the Austrians (April 5th). Belgium was rapidly reconquered by the Austrians, and an Anglo-Austrian army under Coburg laid siege to the French border fortresses, Condé and Valenciennes. On the Rhine, Custine was driven back, and the Prussians laid siege to Mainz. To add to the peril, civil war had broken out in Western France; the peasants of the Vendée, roused to fury by the execution of the King, the attack on the Church, and the attempt of the Convention to impose conscription, rose in revolt in March and defeated every army sent against them.

The Fall of the Girondins. It was this combination of disasters that brought about the overthrow of the already weakening Girondin rule. Dumouriez had been a friend and colleague of the leading Girondin ministers, and his treason involved them. Violent attacks were made on them in the Convention, and a special committee—the Committee of Public Safety—was set up to keep watch on the ministry. The Girondins attempted a desperate counter-attack. In April they put Marat on trial; but the Revolutionary Tribunal acquitted him. In May they turned upon the Paris Commune and set up a Committee of Twelve to inquire into its activities; immediately

the Jacobins struck. On May 31st a mob invaded the Assembly Hall, demanding the suppression of the Twelve and the arrest of the Girondin leaders, the formation of a proletarian army, bread at three sous a pound and taxation of the rich—demands which illustrate the combination of political and economic factors underlying the crisis. On June 2nd a second and more violent insurrection took place; the Convention was cowed, and voted the arrest of the twenty-two Girondin leaders. In the moment of supreme peril they had failed in resolution and audacity; the time had come for extreme and desperate measures.

CHAPTER IV

THE TERROR

The Revolutionary Government. With the overthrow of the Girondins in June 1793 the Revolution enters on its most violent and extreme phase. The ideals of liberty and democracy which had hitherto prevailed give way to the naked dictatorship of a resolute minority of fanatics. In theory the Convention (a 'Rump,' purged of its moderate sections) remained the sovereign authority; in practice all power was concentrated in the hands of two Committees. The Committee of Public Safety consisted of twelve Jacobin leaders, of whom the most important were Robespierre, the figurehead and spokesman, and Carnot, the Minister of War. The Committee of General Security was in charge of the police system, and its work was the systematic application of terrorism. These two Committees, the real Government of France, maintained contact with the departments and communes by means of special agents, the Representatives on Mission, whose task it was to search out 'suspects' and speed them on their brief journey from the Revolutionary Tribunal to the guillotine.

The Government thus established in the summer of 1793 was confronted by a situation of the utmost difficulty and danger. The provinces were ablaze with rebellion against the dictatorship of Paris: in the west the Vendean revolt was spreading rapidly; Caen, Bordeaux, Marseilles and Lyons had thrown off allegiance to the Government of Paris; and Toulon admitted an English garrison. On the northern frontiers Condé and Valenciennes had fallen, and Dunkirk was besieged; while on the Rhine the Prussians had captured Mainz and were invading Alsace. The overthrow of the Government seemed certain. Yet within a

year the 'Great Committee' had established its unchallenged authority throughout the country, driven back the invaders from the frontiers, and remodelled the social institutions of France.

The Terror. The first step was to crush resistance within the country itself. In September the 'Law of Suspects' was passed, by which suspected persons could be imprisoned on a mere accusation, without proof of guilt; and under this law nearly three thousand 'enemies of the Revolution' were sent to the guillotine. Among the victims were Marie Antoinette; Girondin leaders like Vergniaud and Brissot; unsuccessful generals like Custine and Houchard; old heroes of the Revolution like Bailly and 'Philippe Egalité.' The rebellions in the provinces were put down with the same ruthless severity; four thousand people perished in the terrible 'Noyades' at Nantes, and two thousand were shot in cold blood at Lyons. The Vendean rebels were decisively defeated at Cholet in October, and again at Savenay in December; and the danger from the west passed away. Finally, with the recapture of Toulon—an episode in which a young artillery captain called Bonaparte first flashed into history—the dictatorship completed the establishment of its authority within France.

The War. At the same time the organising genius of Carnot was saving France from the foreign enemy; in August a general conscription called up all men from 18 to 25. Brilliant new generals like Hoche and Pichegru and Jourdan were placed in command of the armies; and a new strategy of daring and resolute offensive was adopted. In the north the victory of Hondschoote saved Dunkirk (September, 1793), and the Austrians were driven back by Jourdan at Wattignies in the next month; while Hoche drove back the Prussians from the Rhine and conquered the Palatinate. The success was followed up in the summer of 1794 by the conquest of Belgium: Jourdan defeated Coburg, the Austrian commander, at Fleurus, and entered Brussels; and the danger of foreign invasion came to an end.

Internal Reorganisation. Meanwhile the Revolutionary Government was carrying through a drastic reorganisation of the economic and social life of the country. To meet the emergency created by continual inflation, the 'Law of the Maximum' was passed in September, fixing a maximum price for commodities and a maximum level of wages. To complete the break with the *Ancien Régime*, the decimal system was established and a new Revolutionary Calendar drawn up, in which the week was replaced by ten-day 'decades,' and the months rechristened according to natural phenomena—Floréal, Pluviôse, Brumaire, etc. Finally, under the influence of the violent anti-religious faction of Hébert, an attempt was made to root out the last traces of Christianity. A new cult—the Worship of Reason—was inaugurated in a ridiculous ceremony at Notre-Dame, in which an actress represented the goddess. But this was going too far even for Robespierre. Already dissension was appearing within the Government, and by the beginning of 1794 three clearly marked groups can be discerned. The 'Indulgents,' led by Danton, and composed largely of corrupt financiers and speculators, wanted to call a halt to terrorism. As Danton said, 'It is time to stop the shedding of blood.' At the other extreme the Hébert faction demanded even more violently communist and atheist measures. Between them stood the Triumvirate—Robespierre, Couthon and Saint-Just—hating alike the corruption of the Indulgents and the fanaticism of the Hébertists. The victory lay with Robespierre; playing off one faction against the other, he was able to send Hébert to the guillotine in March and Danton in April.

The Fall of Robespierre. Robespierre was supreme, and he set to work to establish that 'Republic of Virtue' which had been his dream. The atheistic excesses of the Hébertists were brought to an end, and a new religion—the Worship of the Supreme Being—was established with great ceremony, Robespierre, dapper in powdered wig and sky-blue coat, acting as its High Priest. At the same time the war against the enemies of the Revolution proceeded

with still more pitiless severity. The law of 22nd Prairial (June 10th) speeded up the procedure of the Revolutionary Tribunal and brought even members of the Convention within its jurisdiction. In the six weeks of Robespierre's dictatorship, 1376 heads fell to the knife of the guillotine. But this ruthlessness created its own reaction. The circumstances under which the Terror had been established passed away: France was no longer menaced by internal dissension and foreign invasion; it was time to stop the shedding of blood. Resistance to Robespierre was organised in the Committees and in the Convention by the astute Fouché, and Robespierre brought it to a head by a speech in the Convention vaguely threatening his enemies with destruction (July 26th). The Convention refused to print the speech, and when Robespierre returned to the attack on the following day, he was shouted down in the Convention, and a motion for his arrest was passed amidst wild uproar. The Commune of Paris prepared to rise in his defence, but Robespierre vacillated, the Convention gathered troops, and the dictator was captured at the Hôtel de Ville with a bullet through his jaw. On the 10th Thermidor (July 28th, 1794) Robespierre and his followers were guillotined. The Terror was at an end.

The Thermidorian Reaction. The dictatorship of Robespierre may be regarded as the high-water mark of the Revolution; from his fall the revolutionary tide ebbed steadily. France had had enough of Terror and of Virtue, and a universal reaction against the excesses of the last two years set in. The first stage in this reaction was the overthrow of the Revolutionary Government established in the previous summer. The Committee was purged of its Jacobin members and brought under the control of the Convention. The Law of the Maximum was repealed, and the speculators crept out again into the sunshine of unlimited profiteering. The Commune of Paris was broken up into twelve municipalities, and its long reign of terror came to an end. The second step was the proscription of the Jacobins. The Jacobin Club was closed, the leading

Jacobins guillotined or exiled, and the members of the provincial clubs subjected to a ferocious persecution. The reaction extended even to dress and manners: the red cap of liberty and title of 'Citizen' disappeared, and the 'Jeunesse Dorée,' the gilded youth of Paris, plunged into an orgy of dissipation.

This triumph of the bourgeoisie was not achieved without resistance. The fierce winter of 1794-5, the scarcity of food, and the persecution of the Jacobins produced two last flickers of revolt: in April and May (1795) starving Paris mobs attacked the Convention; but their fangs had been drawn, and the rioters were dispersed by regular troops. The day of mob rule was over.

Meanwhile, the Convention was bringing the wars abroad to a successful conclusion. The victory of Fleurus had secured Belgium, and in the winter of 1794-5 Pichegru followed up the victory by invading Holland, capturing the ice-bound Dutch Fleet with the aid of cavalry, and seizing Amsterdam. In April 1795 Prussia, too preoccupied by her Polish interests to continue the war, made peace at Basel; in April and July Holland and Spain withdrew from the war; and the First Coalition fell to pieces. Only England and Austria remained under arms; and an English attempt to start a Royalist rebellion in Brittany was defeated at Quiberon Bay (July 1795).

Having established its authority at home and brought the war to an end, the Convention completed its work by setting up the new 'Constitution of the year III.'¹ This was purely bourgeois in character. It reasserted the sanctity of property and excluded the proletariat from all political power. The Legislature was to consist of two Chambers—a Council of Ancients composed of men over forty, and a Council of Five Hundred as the Lower House—both elected on a limited franchise. The Executive was to be a Directory of five members, one retiring each year. Finally, the Convention perpetuated its own rule by the

¹ I.e. 1795. The new Revolutionary Calendar started in September 1792 (year I).

'Law of Two-Thirds,' by which two-thirds of the new Councils were to be chosen from among the members of the Convention. Against this rule the discontented elements rose in a last desperate rebellion; but Barras came to the rescue of the Convention with regular troops, and his second in command, General Bonaparte, dispersed the mob with his famous 'whiff of grapeshot' (October 5th). After this the Convention dissolved itself; the most epoch-making Assembly in Europe since the English Long Parliament came to an end.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mirabeau (1749-91). The embodiment of the first or constitutional phase of the Revolution—the attempt to establish a limited monarchy after the English model. One of the few real statesmen thrown up by the Revolution.

A noble by birth and a man of unbridled passions, his early career was a squalid record of extravagance, violence and debauchery. Rejected by his own Order, he succeeded in getting himself elected to the States-General as a representative of the Third Estate of Aix in Provence. Within a few weeks of the meeting of the States-General his eloquence and great intellectual ability marked him out as one of the leading figures of that Assembly. At first he stood forth as the opponent of the Court and the champion of the Third Estate; but his object was the abolition of ancient abuses and the establishment of a strong constitutional Government, not the destruction of all authority. He therefore observed the growth of anarchy and mob violence with great anxiety. After the wild scenes of October 5th-6th—the march to Versailles and the enforced return of the King and Queen to Paris—he sought to restrain the revolutionary movement, and to establish an alliance with the Court. In a memorandum drawn up at this time he advised the King to leave Paris, summon a national assembly at Rouen, and throw himself upon the loyalty of the provinces. Unfortunately for himself and for the Court, however, the Queen profoundly distrusted him. His advice was disregarded, and in November 1789 the Constituent Assembly passed a law forbidding its members to accept office under the King. Thus

debarred from becoming a minister, he nevertheless became, in April 1790, the unofficial confidential adviser to the Queen, in return for which service his debts were paid by the Court—a fact which led to charges of corruption and undermined his influence in the Assembly. For a time, however, he succeeded in moderating the violence of the Revolution and in restraining the Court from rash and foolish actions. But in April 1791 he died, worn out by his earlier debaucheries and by the burden of overwork; and with his death the last hope of saving the monarchy disappeared.

Lafayette (1757–1834). The perfect type of revolutionary aristocrat, romantic, idealistic, vain, incapable of understanding the violence of the revolutionary forces which he helped to release. A brilliant and successful member of an old noble family, his outlook was formed by early experiences in America, where he enlisted as a youth in the army of the rebel colonists. The Declaration of Independence became his political creed, and he returned to France filled with vague Liberal aspirations. A member of the Assembly of Notables, it was he who was chiefly responsible for advising the King to summon the States-General. When that Assembly met he threw in his lot with the revolutionary movement, and was made Commander of the National Guard, formed in July 1789; and he was responsible for the choice of the tricolour as the symbol of the Revolution. Henceforth his efforts were chiefly directed to attempting to restrain the violence of the Paris mob. His belated arrival at Versailles on the night of October 5th saved the King and Queen from personal violence. In 1791 he was put in command of one of the armies formed to resist foreign invasion. But the belief that he intended to use his troops for the restoration of the monarchy led to his denunciation in the Legislative Assembly as a traitor, and to an order for his arrest. He thereupon fled to Liège, but was imprisoned by the Austrians and remained a prisoner of the Allies for the next five years. Released in 1797, he returned to France; but his opposition to the Consulate and the Empire prevented him from taking any part in public life. After the Restoration of 1814 he reappeared as a Liberal opponent of the Bourbon régime, and played a part in organising the overthrow of Charles X. His last public appearance was as the Commander of the National Guard in the Revolution of 1830.

Danton (1759-94). The most flamboyant and romantic figure of the Revolution, and the greatest of the Jacobin leaders. As a bourgeois by birth and a successful lawyer by profession, he is typical of that enlightened, progressive middle-class which made the Revolution. Although not a member either of the States-General or of the Legislative Assembly, he became famous as a leading member of the 'Cordeliers' Club, which represented the extreme 'Left' of revolutionary opinion, and which was later superseded by the Jacobins. He played a great part in organising the attack on the Tuileries (August 10th, 1792), and in consequence became Minister of Justice in the reconstituted Girondin ministry. From that time his passionate eloquence and terrific energy made him a dominant figure in France. Although not directly responsible, he defended the September massacres as necessary, and his main efforts were directed to rousing the spirit of France to resist the foreign invader with his famous slogan: 'Il nous faut de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée!' For achieving the salvation of France he saw the necessity of an all-powerful executive, and he was largely responsible for the setting-up of the machinery of the Terror—he was himself a member of the original Committee of Public Safety. For the same reason he worked for the overthrow of the Girondins and the establishment of the Jacobin dictatorship (June 1793). But as the tide of war turned in favour of France, and the pressing danger from abroad passed away, he desired a modification of the extreme rigour of the Terror, and became the leader, with Camille Desmoulins, of a party known as the 'Indulgents.' In March 1794 he was able, in alliance with Robespierre, to secure the overthrow of the most fanatical and extreme section of the Jacobins—the Hébertists. But now he himself had lost his personal ascendancy; he was no longer a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and his policy of moderation was anathema to Robespierre and the Committee. The extremists won; in April 1794 Danton, Desmoulins and the other 'moderates' were guillotined, and the Terror entered its last and bloodiest phase.

Robespierre (1750-94). Like Danton, a successful lawyer at the outbreak of the Revolution, practising in his native town of Arras, distinguished in local society as a man of advanced

ideas, a writer and a dandy. Elected to the States-General by the *tiers état* of Artois, he soon made a name for himself as the leader of the extreme revolutionary faction in the Constituent Assembly, and as a leading figure in the Jacobin Club. The secret of his influence lay in two factors: first, his cold, ruthless, fanatical devotion to the pure revolutionary creed, to the gospel of Rousseau; secondly, his unswerving financial honesty, which marked him out in a period of very widespread corruption and 'graft,' and earned him the name of 'the Incorruptible.' His enormous popularity with the Paris mob is illustrated by his election as first deputy for Paris to the Convention (September 1792). He shared with Danton the leadership of the Mountain; he was one of the principal supporters of the execution of the King—'Louis must die,' he said, 'that France may live.' He played a leading part in the overthrow of the Girondins, and became the most outstanding figure of the reconstituted Committee of Public Safety (July 1793). From this time his power steadily increased. He succeeded in getting the Hébertists guillotined early in March 1794, and procured the downfall of Danton at the end of the same month. From that time until his own fall in July he ruled almost as a dictator, and proceeded to put into action his stern and fanatical conception of 'Virtue.' The establishment of the Worship of the Supreme Being (May 1794) was his work; and to him also must be attributed the drastic law of the 22nd Prairial (June) and the mass executions which followed it. But the very ferocity of his rule brought about his downfall; the other members of the Committee plotted with leaders of the Convention to overthrow him. On July 27th, 1794, he was arrested, and the following day (10th Thermidor) guillotined. With his fall the Terror came to an end.

Marat (1743-93). A diseased mind in a diseased body—the most repellent of the revolutionary leaders. Before the Revolution began Marat had already made himself a distinguished reputation as a physician—he practised for some years in London—and as a scientist. His part in the Revolution is unique; although sharing many of the Jacobin views, he did not attach himself officially to any party, and held no official position, except membership of the Paris Commune, until his election to the Convention in September 1792. He

regarded himself essentially as a 'tribune of the people,' and his influence lay in his famous paper, the *Ami du Peuple*, in which he thundered denunciation and abuse against the Court and the Girondins in turn. The violence of his attacks compelled him to spend his life in hiding in the slums and cellars of Paris, where he contracted the terrible skin disease which disfigured his appearance and poisoned his mind. A ruthless Terrorist, he is mainly responsible for the September massacres, and he vigorously pressed for the execution of the King. His assassination by Charlotte Corday in July 1793 ended the career of the best-hated man in France.

Talleyrand (1754-1838). A member of the old aristocracy, witty, cynical, dissolute, Talleyrand belongs in character rather to the *Ancien Régime* than to the revolutionary period. Marked out from birth for a military career, an accident in childhood lamed him for life and barred him from this profession. He therefore adopted the only other career open to a gentleman—the Church—and, despite objections to his moral character, was made Bishop of Autun in 1788. He drew up the *Cahier* of the clergy of his diocese, and represented them in the States-General. Realising the hopelessness of the royal cause, he was one of the few members of the higher clergy who went over to the Revolution. It was he who proposed the confiscation of clerical property in October 1789, and he officiated as a cleric at the Festival of the Federation in July 1790. He resigned his see in 1791, and in the following year acted as unofficial ambassador to England, where he worked hard to preserve English neutrality, without success. After the execution of the King he went into exile in America, and only returned to France after Thermidor. During the Directory he was in office as Foreign Minister; but he was quick to perceive the rising star of Napoleon, and was one of Napoleon's principal assistants in the *coup d'état* of 19th Brumaire. Thenceforth he served Napoleon very ably as Foreign Minister, and was made Prince of Benevento in 1806. But by 1807 he had realised that the Empire also was a sinking ship; and he intrigued steadily against his master. When the crash came in 1814 he worked to secure the restoration of the Bourbons and the preservation of the boundaries of France. He represented his country at the Congress of Vienna, and played a subtle and astute game in dividing the

victorious rulers, to the profit of France. Appointed Foreign Minister by Louis XVIII, he was driven from office by the fury of the Ultra-royalists, and remained in retirement until the Revolution of 1830, when he returned to play a brief but distinguished part as Ambassador to London until his death in 1838. Despite his unscrupulous time-serving, his avarice and his cynicism, Talleyrand must be credited with statesmanship of the highest order, and with a series of the wittiest epigrams on contemporary events on record.

H. B. Arnold
2. 10. 58.

CHAPTER V

THE DIRECTORY AND THE RISE OF NAPOLEON

France under the Directory. The four years which lie between the establishment of the Directory in October 1795 and its overthrow by Napoleon in November 1799 form a comparatively quiet backwater in the internal history of France. The great days of the Revolution are over, and the internal reorganisation of France is practically completed; the great figures have gone, one by one, to the guillotine; the great ideals for which men fought and died have become tarnished and dim; and the majority of Frenchmen settle down in a condition of disillusioned apathy under the quiet, if corrupt, rule of the Directors.

The Constitution of the year III under which the Directors governed was a bad one; it contained no arrangement for resolving conflicts between the Executive (the five Directors) and the Legislature (the two Councils), and it ensured that such conflicts would occur by the provision that one-third of the Council should retire each year, while only one of the five Directors resigned. The Legislature was thus much more responsive to public opinion and much more liable to fluctuations of party than the Directory, and it is not surprising that the history of those four years should be a succession of minor *coups d'état*, until the man who held the real power, the man who had the army behind him, came along and destroyed the Constitution altogether.

The Councils met in October 1795 and proceeded to elect five Directors. Of these, four—Barras, Larevellière, Reubell and Letourneur—were moderate Thermidorians, while the fifth, Carnot, was a Jacobin who owed his escape from the reaction of 1794 to his record as 'Organiser of Victory.' The Government was faced with opposition from

two sides: on the Right from the Moderates, who wanted to end the war, and even favoured the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in the person of Louis XVI's brother, the Comte de Provence; on the Left from the Jacobin section, who wanted a more democratic and less purely bourgeois Government.

The first threat came from the Left. Gracchus Babeuf and the Jacobins plotted to overthrow the Directory and to establish a Communist society; but the plot was discovered and Babeuf executed (May 1796). In the following year the *coup d'état* of Fructidor took place; the elections returned a 'Moderate' majority to the councils, and the laws against *émigrés* and priests were repealed. Carnot and the new Director, Barthélemy, leaned to the same side. But the other three Directors raised a cry of a Royalist conspiracy, and called in Bonaparte to their aid. Bonaparte, unwilling to dirty his own hands, sent a blustering soldier, Augereau, with troops to Paris to overawe the Councils. The 'Royalist' leaders were sentenced to transportation, the elections in many departments quashed, and the laws against priests and *émigrés* revived (September 1797). In 1798 the Directors again found it necessary to juggle with the elections—this time to check a swing to the Left. Finally, in June 1799, the opposition to the Directors proved too strong to be resisted any longer; three of the Directors were forced to resign, and Sieyès, who had earned a reputation for vast political wisdom by saying nothing and saving his skin through the Terror, came in as the leading Director. Sieyès wanted to change the entire system of government, and was looking for a soldier willing to assist him in the overthrow of the Directory.

This, then, was the position when Bonaparte returned from the Egyptian expedition in 1799. France was utterly weary of the 'Government of Lawyers,' which enriched itself by wholesale graft and corruption, and which only maintained itself in power by continual violations of the Constitution. Above all, the Directory had lost the last shreds of its popularity by inglorious defeat abroad: the

situation was ripe for a dictator. It remains to trace the steps by which Napoleon had raised himself to the position of the saviour of France.

The Rise of Napoleon. The part which luck plays in the careers of great men is nowhere more aptly illustrated than in that of Napoleon. His ascendancy was due not merely to enormous abilities, but also to a series of happy accidents, which finally converted him and other men to an unshakeable belief in his 'star.' Of these, the first was the circumstances of his birth. He was born in 1769, the son of a Corsican lawyer, and in that year Corsica became French territory. After centuries of Genoese government a nationalist movement under Paoli had driven out the Genoese, but France, called in to suppress the rebels, had expelled Paoli and taken Corsica for her own. It was this that enabled Napoleon's father to send him to a military school at Brienne, where he laid the foundations not merely of his military science, but also of the enormous mass of miscellaneous information which he later applied to the work of government. Commissioned as a second lieutenant of artillery in 1785, the Revolution found Napoleon deeply involved in the tortuous politics of Corsica, where the nationalist movement was reviving. But the Bonapartes took the side of France and were expelled from the island in 1793. Henceforth Napoleon looked to France for his career.

The first opportunity of distinction occurred in the attack on Toulon in December 1793, where the young captain's handling of artillery earned him promotion. After Thermidor, 1794, he was under suspicion as a Robespierist, and though he cleared himself, his refusal to serve in La Vendée seriously endangered his career. Again luck saved him; he was in Paris when the Vendémiaire rising took place against the Convention (October 1795), and Barras, placed in charge of the defence, was glad to make use of his services. The 'whiff of grapeshot' earned him the thanks of the Directors and restitution to the rank of general. His marriage with Josephine Beauharnais, who

had powerful friends in Paris, strengthened his position. In 1796 he achieved the first step in his ambition by gaining the command of the army of Italy.

The Italian Campaign (1796-7). The treaties of 1795 had broken up the First Coalition against France and left only two enemies—Austria and England—in the field. It was against Austria that the Directors planned their first blow. Two armies, under Jourdan and Moreau, were to march on Vienna from the north, while a third harassed the Austrians in Italy. The Italian campaign was intended as a diversion, but the genius of Napoleon turned it into the major operation of the war. This campaign, perhaps the most brilliant in all that astonishing career, brings out clearly the qualities of his generalship: his daring and rapidity of decision; his ability to seize on the weakness of the enemy's position and to concentrate his forces there for the deciding blow; his capacity for inspiring passionate loyalty in his troops. When he arrived to take up his command at Nice in March 1796 he found a starving, ragged, unpaid and mutinous army of 30,000 men. His proclamation to the troops appealed equally to their desire for glory and for gain: 'Soldiers, you are half starved and half naked. I lead you to the most fertile plains of the world; there you will reap honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of the army of Italy, will you lack courage?'

The situation called for all their courage and all his ability. The road to Italy was barred by the Maritime Alps, and the passes were guarded by two armies—Sardinian and Austrian.

Driving a wedge between them, Napoleon turned first against the Sardinians; a series of rapid defeats drove them back on their capital, Turin, and forced them to sue for peace. On his own initiative the young general concluded with the Sardinians the Armistice of Cherasco, by which they surrendered Savoy and Nice to France and gave passage to the French troops. Moving on against the Austrian army, Napoleon gained a brilliant victory at Lodi (May 10th) and entered Milan. North Italy was at his

feet: the rulers of Parma and Modena submitted, the Pope and the King of Naples sought an armistice.

The next step was to drive the Austrians out of Italy altogether. The basis of Austrian power in Italy was the great fortress of Mantua, which commanded the eastern passes of the Alps; to this fortress Napoleon laid siege in June. Four times Austria attempted to raise the siege; and each army in turn, led by the ablest Austrian commanders, was defeated. The last and greatest French victory, at Rivoli (January 1797), decided the fate of Mantua; the fortress surrendered and the whole of Austrian Lombardy was in the hands of the French.

The next move was against the Papal States. By the Treaty of Tolentino the Pope ceded Avignon to France and handed over priceless art treasures and a contribution of 30,000,000 francs. Finally, the attack on Austria was renewed. Driving back the Austrian army through the Eastern Alps, Napoleon halted at Leoben, within two days' march of Vienna, and made there an armistice which was converted into the Treaty of Campo Formio (October 1797). By this treaty Austria gave up Belgium to France, and Lombardy to the new Cisalpine Republic, which Napoleon had set up under French protection; and in exchange she received the territories of the unfortunate Republic of Venice, which had fallen to Napoleon's sword. By a secret clause of the treaty the Emperor Francis agreed to the occupation by France of the left bank of the Rhine. Thus France had gained her 'natural' frontiers—the Alps and the Rhine.

The Egyptian Expedition (1798-9). The war with Austria was ended; one great enemy remained—England; and while French troops continued to occupy Belgium, the hostility of England would not cease. It was against England, therefore, that the Directory now turned the energies of the victorious general. An army of invasion was formed and Napoleon was placed at its head. But England itself remained unassailable. In spite of the mutinies at Spithead and the Nore, she was still mistress

of the seas; and in 1797 she had inflicted crushing defeats on the new naval allies of France, on Spain at Cape St Vincent and on Holland at Camperdown. There was another solution: to attack the island Empire in its most vulnerable place—the East. The Egyptian expedition was undertaken with the object of cutting across England's communications with India, and joining up with Tippoo Sahib in India itself. Other motives contributed: the Directors were anxious to get their dangerous rival out of the way, and Napoleon himself sought a fresh outlet for his energy and an opportunity for further glory. 'Great celebrity,' he said, 'can be won only in the East.'

In May 1798 the ill-fated adventure began. Accompanied by scientists, archæologists and engineers, and commanding an army of 38,000 men, Napoleon set sail from Toulon. Capturing Malta from the Knights of St John, he successfully avoided the English fleet and landed at Alexandria. In July the rulers of Egypt, the Mamelukes, were decisively defeated at the battle of the Pyramids, and Napoleon was master of Egypt. But disaster followed: in August Nelson found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, and destroyed it at the battle of the Nile. Napoleon was cut off from France, from reinforcements and supplies. The only hope was to go on, to attack the Turkish Empire, perhaps to capture Constantinople itself. Syria was invaded and Jaffa conquered; but at Acre Napoleon 'missed his destiny.' The town was resolutely defended by a Turkish garrison, aided by a British naval squadron under Sir Sidney Smith. The assault was repulsed, and the French army was ravaged by plague. Napoleon turned back, and, after a terrible march across the desert to Cairo, was still strong enough to annihilate a Turkish army sent against him at Aboukir. But the expedition was doomed; and, from newspapers which Sir Sidney Smith had contrived to send him, he learnt disquieting news from home. The Second Coalition had been formed against France; Russian and Austrian armies were hurling back the French in Italy and on the Rhine. There was

no time to lose; and in August Napoleon, with the ablest of his officers, deserted the expedition and set sail for France. The army of Egypt he left under the command of Kléber, who was assassinated in the next year; and in 1801 this army was decisively defeated by a British force under Abercromby, and forced to evacuate Egypt.

Brumaire. The news which had summoned Napoleon back to France was certainly grave. The Directory, not content with the gains of the Italian campaign, had continued a policy of violent aggression. In Holland the Batavian Republic had been set up under French protection; the Swiss Confederation had been overthrown, and a Helvetic Republic set up there: in Italy Piedmont had been annexed, the Pope and the King of Naples driven out, and Republics set up in Rome and Naples under the ægis of France. Against these aggressions Pitt had drawn together the Second Coalition, and in the beginning of 1799 France was at war with Austria, Russia, Naples and Turkey. The Coalition was formidable enough, and it possessed in the Russian Suvorov and the Austrian Archduke Charles generals of outstanding ability. The war had opened disastrously for France. In Germany Moreau had been defeated by the Archduke Charles and driven back across the Rhine; in Italy Suvorov had overwhelmed a French army at Novi, and the Italian republics had collapsed like a house of cards. It seemed that all the gains of 1797 were to be lost.

While Napoleon was making his way back to France these disasters had been to some extent retrieved; jealousy paralysed the Austro-Russian alliance, Masséna defeated the Russians in Switzerland, and an English army had been forced to evacuate Holland. But the peril was still great, and when the news of Napoleon's return was heard in France a wave of joy and hope spread over the country. The rule of the lawyers was tottering; France was ready for the dictator; it only remained to give the Directory a decent burial.

The funeral arrangements were made by Sieyès, Napoleon and Talleyrand, and carried out on the 18th and 19th Brumaire (November 9th and 10th). Under the pretence of a Jacobin plot the Councils were removed to Saint-Cloud, away from the danger of a Paris rising; Napoleon was placed in command of the army of Paris; and three of the Directors, Sieyès, Barras and Ducos, resigned. The other two, who were not in the plot, were imprisoned in the Luxembourg. Napoleon's address to the Councils was a failure, and he was ignominiously hooted out of the Assembly Hall. But the troops were ready to hand under Murat. The deputies were driven out at the bayonet's point, and a cowed minority voted that a provisional consulate of three, Bonaparte, Sieyès and Ducos, should be set up to revise the Constitution. The personal rule of Napoleon had begun. 'The Revolution,' said Napoleon, 'is finished.' France turned to her greatest general, as Rome had turned to Cæsar and England to Cromwell, to rescue her from anarchy and chaos.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

(1799-1807)

The Consulate. There is no historical topic on which there exists wider divergence of opinion, or more acute controversy, than the career and personality of Napoleon. Some men, fascinated by his meteoric rise to fame, by the brilliance of his generalship, the subtlety of his diplomacy, the all-embracing scope of his genius, have regarded him simply as one of the ablest men that ever lived. To others he has appeared as a selfish and brutal adventurer who, in order to gratify personal ambition, deluged Europe in blood for twenty years, and left the country of his adoption far sunk in exhaustion, humiliation and ruin. Two things, at any rate, may safely be said: that the organisation and institutions of modern France are largely of his making; and that the history of Europe from 1799 to 1815 is the history of his fortunes and his ambitions.

That history begins with the consolidation of his power in France. The Constitution which the victors of 'Brumaire' set up in December 1799 was in theory more or less democratic: it provided for three Consuls, elected for ten years, assisted by a Council of State and three legislative assemblies chosen by indirect election by the people; but behind the façade was a pure dictatorship. Napoleon, as First Consul, appointed all important officials, promulgated laws, commanded the army, exercised all real power; his colleagues, Cambacérès and Lebrun, were mere shadows, and the assemblies were incapable of resisting his will.

The Second Italian Campaign (1800-1). The first task of the Consul was to redeem the disasters of the previous year and to bring the war to a successful conclusion. The Second Coalition, which had menaced France while

Napoleon was in Egypt, had already broken up, and the progress of the Allies had been checked; but Austria and England were still at war with France. On the Rhine a French army under Moreau and an Austrian army under Kray faced each other; in Italy a second French force under Masséna was besieged in Genoa, precariously maintaining France's last foothold in Italy. Napoleon decided to strike at Austria in Italy.

The obvious move was to relieve Genoa; but Napoleon's plan was bolder and more ambitious: by marching *via* the Great St Bernard to Milan he cut off the Austrian commander, Melas, from his base. Melas, trying to fight his way back, came in contact with the French army at Marengo (June 14th). At first the French were driven back, and an Austrian victory seemed certain; but the opportune return of a French detachment under Desaix turned the defeat into a decisive victory; and Melas hastened to make an armistice, restoring to France her control over Northern Italy. A second and equally brilliant victory by Moreau at Hohenlinden (December 1800) completed the overthrow of Austria and forced her to make peace. By the Treaty of Lunéville (February 1801) Austria ceded to France all territory west of the Rhine, and recognised the independence of the four republics which had been set up under French protection in Lombardy (Cisalpine), Genoa (Ligurian), Switzerland (Helvetic), and Holland (Batavian).

The Peace of Amiens. Only England remained; and against England Napoleon promoted the formation of an alliance between the maritime countries of Northern Europe, which were incensed by England's claim to search neutral vessels. The Armed Neutrality, comprising Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Prussia, offered a serious challenge to British sea-power. But the danger was removed by two events: in March the Czar Paul, who was the mainspring of the alliance, was murdered; and in April Nelson, making skilful use of his blind eye, smashed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. Both Napoleon and the English Government

wanted peace, and the Treaty of Amiens was concluded in March 1802. By this treaty England restored all colonial possessions which she had conquered from France, Holland and Spain during the war, except Ceylon and Trinidad, and agreed to hand back Malta to the Knights of St John; while Napoleon undertook to evacuate Naples, Egypt and Portugal. The Consul had fulfilled his promise to bring peace to France. He could now turn to the task of internal reorganisation.

The Reorganisation of France. The need for a drastic revision of the political and social institutions of France was very evident. The Revolution had been far more successful in destruction than in rebuilding; and ten years of violent change and experiment, of rapid alternation of Constitutionalist, Girondin, Jacobin and Thermidorian had brought the country to something approaching anarchy. The Directory had begun the work of reconstruction, but it was the special task of Napoleon to consolidate the work of the Revolution and to give France a stable, permanent social framework. He began with religion: a sceptic himself, he fully realised the importance of religion in the life of the peasant, and the danger of allowing the Roman Catholic Church to remain the enemy of the Government. He therefore entered into negotiations with the Pope, which resulted in the Concordat of 1802. By this agreement Roman Catholicism was restored as the official religion of the State; but it was to remain under strict State control: the First Consul was to appoint the bishops, who were then to be invested by the Pope. This alliance with the Church enormously strengthened Napoleon's government. Even more important than the religious settlement was the codification of law. The Code Civile is perhaps the greatest achievement of Napoleonic statesmanship, and certainly his best claim to the gratitude of posterity. In place of the chaotic mixture of Roman and feudal law of the old régime, Napoleon gave to France a simple, clear, and comprehensive system of law, in which the essential principles of the Revolution—equality, toleration, justice—were

given permanent expression. It remains the basis of the law not only of France, but also of Spain, Holland and Switzerland.

A third important change was in local government. The Revolution had attempted to establish local self-government in France, and the attempt had hopelessly failed. Napoleon returned to the rigid centralisation of the *Ancien Régime*. The prefect in the department, the sub-prefect in the arrondissement and the mayor in the commune were appointed by, and were entirely responsible to, the central government. Here again Napoleon's work has moulded the character of later France.

In the sphere of finance and industry the same vigorous reconstruction was going on. The collection of taxes was efficiently organised, the Bank of France was instituted, and economic development was promoted by a strict protective policy and by the construction of roads and canals. At least during the earlier period of Napoleon's rule France was exceedingly prosperous; and it was not so much victory abroad as well-being at home that formed the basis of his popularity.

The picture had, of course, its reverse side: in return for order, progress, efficiency in government, France had to suffer the complete destruction of liberty. The government of Napoleon did not permit of criticism; strict censorship of the Press and a highly organised secret police crushed all traces of opposition. It is not surprising, therefore, that the age was barren in literary and artistic achievement.

The Empire. By 1804 most of this reorganisation had been completed, and the personal rule of Napoleon was strong enough to enable him to dispense with the last pretence of democratic government. Already, in 1802, he had prolonged his consulship for life, and now he was able to make use of the alarm caused by a counter-revolutionary plot to take the final step. The Royalist *émigrés* had organised an extensive conspiracy for the abduction of the Consul and the restoration of the Bourbon Count of Artois. But the plot was betrayed by one of the conspirators and

its leaders arrested: Cadoudal, who was to have committed the abduction, was executed; Pichegru, the ex-general, committed suicide; and Moreau, who was suspected of complicity, was banished. Napoleon determined to strike such fear into the Royalists as would prevent all future attempts of this nature, and he found a victim in the innocent and unsuspecting Duc d'Enghien, whose only crime lay in being the nephew of Artois. The young prince was kidnapped in Baden, brought to Vincennes and shot after a parody of a trial. This episode, suggestive rather of the Chicago underworld than of European statecraft, has remained the darkest stain on Napoleon's reputation. But the scare was useful: only the Consul's life, it seemed, stood between France and anarchy; let the Consulate, therefore, become a permanent and hereditary Empire. The Tribune proposed that Napoleon should become Emperor. Napoleon accepted, and Pope Pius VII came to Paris to solemnise the coronation (December 1804). The Consul's entourage became an Imperial Court, and the stable-boys and village publicans' sons who commanded Napoleon's armies set to work to learn the manners of a courtier—without conspicuous success.

The Third Coalition. While Napoleon was thus consolidating his power in France, a new challenge to his ascendancy in Europe was developing. The Peace of Amiens was never more than a mere truce, a breathing-space between two wars. England was alarmed by the continued extension of Napoleon's power in Europe, and she also had reason to suspect him of colonial ambitions. In 1802 he had sent an expedition to the West Indies to recover San Domingo from its negro dictator, Toussaint l'Ouverture, and in 1803 his emissary, Colonel Sebastiani, returned from a reconnaissance of Egypt, announcing that the country would be easy to reconquer. Finally, English merchants were indignant at the continued exclusion of English goods from France. Napoleon on his side was angered by the attacks upon him in English newspapers, and by the refusal of England to expel *émigrés* and Royalists.

The immediate cause of the rupture was the question of Malta. England refused to abandon so valuable a stronghold in the Mediterranean while she was suspicious of Napoleon's designs, and it was over this point that hostilities were renewed in May 1803. At first the renewal involved England only, but by 1805 Pitt had succeeded in building up a new coalition, including Alexander of Russia, who was incensed by the murder of the Duc d'Enghien, and Francis of Austria, who was driven to resist the assumption by Napoleon of the crown of Lombardy. The newly established Empire was threatened by a powerful and dangerous league of enemies. The tremendous struggle which followed, in which Napoleon overthrew one enemy after another and brought almost all Europe under his heel, forms the climax of his career and reveals to the full the scope of his amazing military genius.

'The Elephant and the Whale.' It was against England that Napoleon first directed his energies. From 1803 to 1805 he was hard at work preparing for a great invasion of the island. Two hundred thousand men were assembled in camps along the coast; a fleet of flat-bottomed boats was constructed at Boulogne; all that was needed was the command of the Channel for twenty-four hours. But to achieve this baffled the ingenuity even of Napoleon. The French fleet was blockaded in Brest by Cornwallis and in Toulon by Nelson. Napoleon ordered his admiral, Villeneuve, to evade Nelson and sail for the West Indies, in the hope of drawing off the English fleet in pursuit and then doubling back in order to protect the crossing of troops. The plan failed. In July 1805 Villeneuve escaped and drew Nelson in pursuit; but the return of the French fleet was anticipated, and Villeneuve was defeated off Cape Finisterre. He decided, therefore, to put back into Cadiz to refit, and the opportunity was lost. On October 21st the question of naval supremacy was decided for ever by the battle of Trafalgar, in which Nelson annihilated the combined French and Spanish fleets. But by that time the invasion plan had already been abandoned, and

Napoleon was striking at the very heart of the Austrian Empire.

Austerlitz. England, it seemed, was invulnerable to direct attack; and meanwhile the situation in Europe was becoming increasingly dangerous. The armies of Austria and Russia were on the move, and it was necessary to act quickly if their junction was to be prevented. In September the Grande Armée was racing across Germany to cut off the first Austrian army under the incapable commander, Mack, who, instead of waiting for his Russian allies, had boldly marched westwards into Bavaria. His rashness met with a terrible retribution. At Ulm he found himself surrounded by a French army vastly greater than his own, and was forced to surrender with 25,000 men without striking a blow (October). The capitulation at Ulm left the way open to Vienna, and in November Napoleon slept in the Schönbrunn, the ancient palace of the Hapsburg emperors.

The second blow was still more crushing. The remaining Austrian army, reinforced by a large body of Russian troops under Alexander himself, advanced on Vienna. The armies met on the famous field of Austerlitz, and Napoleon achieved the most brilliant and decisive of all his victories (December 2nd, 1805). Austria lay at his mercy, and was forced to accept the humiliating Treaty of Pressburg, by which she ceded all her Italian possessions to the new Kingdom of Italy, and handed over the Tyrol to Bavaria. Altogether the Emperor lost three million of his subjects; and the last shreds of Austrian influence in Germany and in Italy disappeared.

Napoleon proceeded to reorganise the government of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire, by which Austria had maintained a sketchy predominance over Germany, was abolished, the Dukes of Bavaria and Würtemberg became kings, and the German States were grouped into the 'Confederation of the Rhine,' directly dependent on France and forced to supply a contingent to the Grande Armée.

The Humiliation of Prussia. The treatment of Austria

seemed harsh; it was generous compared with the calculated brutality which Prussia was to suffer. Frederick William III had betrayed his honour and his interests by refusing to join the Third Coalition in 1805. He was now to pay the penalty. After Austerlitz, Napoleon had contemptuously thrown him the promise of Hanover; but the acceptance of the offer brought down on him fierce reprisals from England; and in July 1806 he discovered that Napoleon was actually negotiating for the return of Hanover to England. This, combined with the high-handed subjugation of all Germany to Napoleon, was more than even Frederick William could stand, and in October he declared war on France. Prussia's downfall was even more rapid than that of Austria. On October 14th Napoleon smashed one section of the Prussian army at Jena, while his marshal, Davout, simultaneously defeated the remainder at Auerstadt. The broken fragments of the Prussian armies were hunted down, the fortresses reduced one by one, and by the beginning of November Prussia was prostrate at Napoleon's feet. From her capital Napoleon issued the famous Berlin Decrees which closed the ports of Europe to English trade, and established the 'Continental System.' If the 'nation of shopkeepers' could not be conquered, it must be starved into submission.

Tilsit. One enemy remained—Russia; and Russia must be compelled not merely to abandon resistance, but to accept the Continental System. After Austerlitz, the shattered Russian army had fallen back into Poland, and now, reorganised and strengthened by the addition of the remnant of the Prussian troops, it was operating in East Prussia. Against this army Napoleon now moved. His first blow—at Eylau, in February 1807—failed: a confused and murderous struggle in a snowstorm produced no decided advantage for either side. But in June he struck again, and this time he did not miss: the battle of Friedland was an overwhelming victory, and the Czar Alexander sought peace. The rulers of East and West met on a raft in the River Niemen, and by playing at once

upon the vanity and the ambition of the Czar, Napoleon induced him to agree to the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807). By this treaty the fate of Prussia was finally settled: in the West she lost a large area to the new Kingdom of Westphalia, of which Napoleon's brother, Jerome, was to be king; in the East, her Polish possessions were included in the Duchy of Warsaw, which was given to the King of Saxony. At the same time Alexander agreed to offer his mediation to England, and, if the mediation were refused, to join Napoleon against her. In return, Napoleon practically gave Alexander a free hand against Turkey. The Treaty of Tilsit was, in effect, almost a partition of Europe between Alexander and Napoleon.

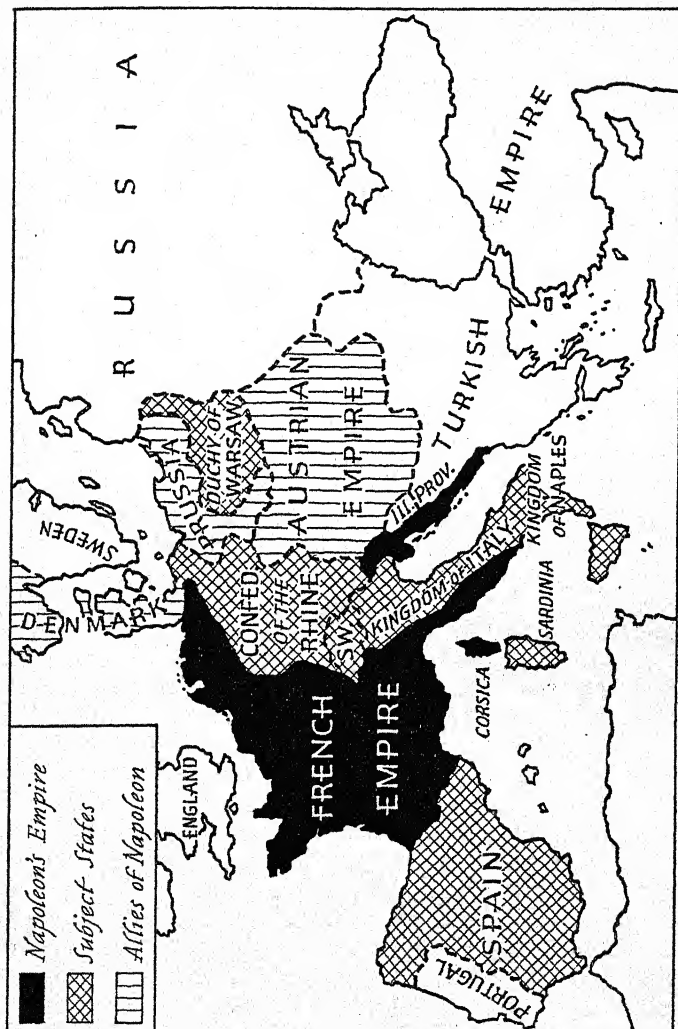
CHAPTER VII

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON (1807-15)

The Empire in 1807. The Treaty of Tilsit may be regarded as the zenith of Napoleon's career. His success up to that point had been unbroken. He had established his direct control over Holland and Italy, and made Germany, Switzerland and Spain dependencies of France. He had carved out kingdoms for three of his brothers: Joseph was ruling in Naples, Louis in Holland, and Jerome in Westphalia; and his brother-in-law, Murat, was to succeed Joseph in Naples when Joseph became King of Spain. At Austerlitz and Jena he had overthrown the two strongest military monarchies in Europe. Now, at Tilsit, he had secured the alliance and friendship of the one remaining great land Power who might be dangerous to him. It seemed that he might regard his work as completed, and his domination over Europe as unshakably established.

But this triumph was more apparent than real. The two forces which were to bring about his downfall were already at work. England was still undefeated, still unchallenged mistress of the seas; and she refused to recognise his conquests. And out of the humiliation of Prussia a new movement of Nationalism was arising, a movement which was to spread to Spain, to Russia, to Austria, and finally to weld the peoples of Europe into a solid resistance to his domination. His overthrow was due to a combination of these two factors. The measure which he adopted to subjugate England—the Continental System—was to strengthen and solidify this national resistance, and so finally to recoil upon his own head.

The Continental System. Trafalgar had destroyed for



EUROPE IN 1810

ever the dream of a direct conquest of England. It only remained to reduce the 'nation of shopkeepers' to surrender by starvation. With this object Napoleon had adopted the plan of a Continental blockade: the Berlin and Milan Decrees (1806 and 1807) declared England in a state of blockade, and closed the ports of France and her allies to British goods. England replied by the Orders in Council, forbidding neutrals to trade with the ports from which England was excluded. The Continental System did undoubtedly damage England; it caused a serious shortage of food supplies, and the price of wheat soared dangerously. But it did far more harm to France and her allies. Some parts of Europe were deprived of those manufactures which only the new factories of England could produce, and of necessary colonial products like coffee, sugar, and tobacco; while in other parts the Continental System was never effectively enforced; British goods continued to enter Europe through Portugal and Russia, and by means of a widespread smuggling trade; and Napoleon himself was forced in 1810 to relax the prohibition on English manufactures. The French armies which invaded Prussia marched in overcoats from Leeds and boots from Northampton.

The Regeneration of Prussia. Meanwhile the new spirit of Nationalism was stirring in the country which had suffered the greatest humiliation at Napoleon's hands. The Prussia which had been overthrown was a backward country of absolute despotism, rigid caste divisions and serfdom. But in the years after 1806 a new Prussia was being built. Intellectually the movement found expression in the writings of Schiller and Fichte and in the 'Tugendbund' (League of Virtue), which carried on patriotic propaganda. In politics, military organisation and education the reconstruction was carried out by three great ministers—Stein, Scharnhorst and Humboldt. Stein became Chief Minister of Frederick William III in 1807, and passed the Edict of Emancipation, by which serfdom was abolished and peasants were allowed to become the

proprietors of their land, while at the same time trade was freed, and the rigid separation of classes was swept away. He was beginning also on the establishment of local self-governing institutions when Napoleon compelled Frederick William to dismiss him in 1808. But he entered the service of the Czar and continued to work against Napoleon. Scharnhorst remodelled the whole military system; he introduced conscription and evaded Napoleon's limit of 42,000 men by passing men rapidly through the army into the reserve, so that when the time came for Prussia to strike against Napoleon she had a trained army of 150,000 men. Humboldt established a modern educational system, and promoted the foundation of the University of Berlin, which became a centre for German national culture. Thus by 1813 Prussia, armed, militant and patriotic, was ready to take her revenge for the humiliation of 1806.

The Peninsular War. While the spirit of Nationalism was recreating Prussia, it was giving an even more striking example of its power of resistance to tyranny in Spain. It was the quarter from which resistance might least be expected. Spain had long since lost its place among the European Powers, and was far sunk in decay. Its Government was perhaps the most corrupt and inefficient in Europe. The King, Charles IV, was weak and incapable; the real ruler of the country, the Queen's lover, Godoy, was bitterly hated; and the opposition to the Government was led by the King's son, the feeble and cowardly Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias. Since 1795 Spain had been a submissive ally of France; and she had paid dearly for the alliance by the loss of her fleet at Trafalgar. Now Napoleon, led on by his desire to conquer Portugal and to complete the Continental System, determined to bring Spain under his direct control. Already, in 1807, he had sent a French army under Junot to occupy Portugal, and had made the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Charles IV, by which Portugal was to be partitioned between France and Spain. In 1808 the situation seemed ready for the final step. Charles IV, terrified by a mob-rising against

Godoy, had abdicated in favour of Ferdinand, and then revoked the abdication. Both appealed to Napoleon. Napoleon summoned them before him at Bayonne, and bullied both father and son into abandoning their claim to the Spanish throne. Spain was occupied by French troops; and Napoleon's brother, Joseph, was proclaimed King in Madrid (June 1808). The subjection of Spain seemed complete. But Napoleon had reckoned without the force of Nationalism. All over Spain sporadic national risings against the French took place, and local councils or 'Juntas' were set up to organise resistance. In July 1808 a French force of 20,000 men under Dupont was compelled to surrender to the Spanish rebels at Baylen. The shock of that surrender travelled throughout Europe. A new, powerful, incalculable factor had appeared in European politics.

In August the situation grew worse. The Portuguese had already risen against Junot, and appealed to England. An English force under Sir Arthur Wellesley landed in Portugal, defeated the French at Vimiero, and forced them to conclude the Convention of Cintra, by which the French army evacuated Portugal. Thus Napoleon was faced with a double problem; a series of badly organised but resolute nationalist risings in Spain, and a small well-handled English army in Portugal. Furthermore, there was a danger that these reverses might encourage resistance elsewhere in Europe. Austria was already stirring. To consolidate his position in Europe, Napoleon held a ceremonial conference with the Czar Alexander at Erfurt, at which the Franco-Russian alliance was renewed, with considerably less enthusiasm this time on the part of Russia. Having thus guarded himself against Austria, Napoleon took over the command in Spain in person. In a short campaign he defeated the Spanish rebels, restored Joseph to his kingdom and drove the English, under the command of Sir John Moore, back to the sea at Corunna. But the danger from Austria summoned him back to France before the campaign was finished, and

Sir John Moore's victory at Corunna, which cost him his life, enabled the English to embark safely.

Napoleon had failed to solve the Spanish problem; and the Peninsular War was to drag on, with varying fortunes, until the French were finally driven out of Spain.

In 1809 Wellesley returned to Portugal with a fresh English force, invaded Spain and defeated the French at Talavera—a victory which earned him the title of Viscount Wellington; but he was compelled by the superior numbers of the enemy to retreat into Portugal. In 1810 the French general Masséna made a last attempt to rout the English out of Portugal. But Wellington retired behind the impregnable 'Lines of Torres Vedras' (a long line of fortifications which he had constructed on the Lisbon Peninsula); and all attempts to dislodge him failed. In the next year Wellington advanced again and drove the French out of Portugal; but he was not yet strong enough to maintain himself in Spain, and had once more to retire. In 1812 Wellington, aided by the Spanish Juntas, returned to the attack, captured Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and entered Madrid. The withdrawal of French troops for the Russian campaign gave him his opportunity. In 1813 he gained a decisive victory at Vittoria, and drove the French back across the Pyrenees. His final victory at Toulouse (April 1814) completed the campaign. But by this time Napoleon's fate had already been decided elsewhere. The importance of the Peninsular War lies not so much in the victories of Wellington as in the encouragement which it gave to national risings in other parts of Europe, and in the weakening of Napoleon's military power. The War was aptly described as a 'running sore.' The 200,000 men who had to be kept in Spain might have saved Napoleon in the hour of crisis.

The Austrian War, 1809. The danger which had summoned Napoleon back from Spain at the end of 1808 was urgent. Austria had never willingly accepted the humiliating Treaty of Pressburg, and the Spanish rebellion had

encouraged her to a new resistance. The Tyrolean peasants broke into rebellion against the King of Bavaria; England promised help to Austria; and in April 1809 an Austrian army under the Archduke Charles invaded Bavaria. Again Napoleon gathered his forces for a decisive victory; but the day of Austerlitz had gone. In a series of brilliant victories in Bavaria the Emperor drove back the Austrians and opened the way to Vienna, which he entered in triumph for the second time. But the Archduke concentrated his army on the north bank of the Danube, and Napoleon's attempt to force a crossing was repulsed in a costly battle at Aspern-Essling. Finally, at Wagram in July 1809, Napoleon gained the victory he sought; but it was a victory dearly purchased. Austria, however, was unwilling to continue the struggle and purchased peace by the Treaty of Schönbrunn, by which she ceded Dalmatia and Croatia (the 'Illyrian Provinces') to France, and most of Galicia to the Duchy of Warsaw, and agreed to pay a heavy indemnity. For Austria the Treaty was a disaster; she lost four million inhabitants and suffered the disgrace of leaving the brave Tyrolean peasants to the vengeance of Napoleon. Henceforth the Austrian Emperor, guided by the subtle and astute Metternich, changed his tactics. Open resistance was hopeless; Austria must play a waiting game, and meanwhile—friendship with France. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of Napoleon to Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor Francis. The parvenu had at last 'arrived.' The birth of a son from this marriage—the ill-fated King of Rome—gave Napoleon a hope of establishing a permanent dynasty in France.

'1812.' But if the danger from Austria was overcome, an even greater menace was developing in the East. The alliance between Napoleon and Alexander, founded at Tilsit and renewed at Erfurt, never had any solid foundation. The only material gain which Alexander expected, a free hand in the splitting-up of Turkey, was never realised; and on the other hand there were increasing causes

of friction. Alexander was alarmed by Napoleon's creation and strengthening of the Duchy of Warsaw, in which he feared a resurrection of Polish national spirit. He was incensed by Napoleon's annexation of the Duchy of Oldenburg, the heir to which was his brother-in-law. Napoleon, on his side, had suffered a rebuff in his proposal of marriage to the Czar's sister; and he had real ground of complaint in Alexander's refusal to enforce the Continental System. In 1810 the Czar had imposed a heavy tariff on French goods, and in the following year he had opened Russian ports to British ships. It was this that determined Napoleon to inflict severe punishment on Russia. It was the most disastrous blunder of his career.

In June 1812, a huge cosmopolitan army of 450,000 men crossed the Niemen and invaded Russia. Napoleon's intention was to force on a battle, to secure an overwhelming victory and compel the Czar to accept his terms. The plan was foiled by the strategy of the Russian general, Barclay de Tolly, who retreated steadily before him, laying waste the country as he went. The huge unwieldy army moved on; at Smolensk, the furthest limit which Napoleon had set himself, there was still no prospect of the deciding victory. The gambler determined on a final throw; he would conquer Moscow itself, and dictate peace in the ancient palace of the Czars. Alexander was moved at last to resistance; Barclay was superseded by Kutusov in the command of the Russian army; and at Borodino the Russians barred the Emperor's path. The battle of Borodino was a victory for Napoleon; but it was a barren victory, with enormous losses; and the Russian army retreated, still unbroken. In September Napoleon entered Moscow and took up his quarters in the Kremlin. But the city was deserted, and fires started by the Russians themselves reduced large parts of it to ashes. And still the Czar refused to make peace. A month was spent in fruitless negotiation. Winter was coming on, supplies were exhausted, and Napoleon dared not risk a winter cut off from France. The only course was to retreat;

and in October the remnant of the Grand Army began its terrible journey.

Napoleon intended to take a more southerly route, where supplies might still be obtained, but Kutusov's army barred the way, and he was forced back on the old devastated line of march. On November 6th the snow came, and the remainder of that march became a nightmare of suffering and disaster, only redeemed by the heroism of Marshal Ney, who achieved immortality by the most famous rearguard action in history. On December 5th Napoleon deserted his army and fled to Paris, and on the 13th a rabble of 20,000 ragged frost-bitten men recrossed the river Niemen.

The War of Liberation. This terrible disaster was a signal to Europe that the day of deliverance had come. A Russian army invaded Germany, and Frederick William III was forced by the determination of his people to take up arms against Napoleon. He concluded an alliance with Alexander at Kalisch (February 1813). Bernadotte, the ex-Marshal of Napoleon, who had been elected Crown Prince of Sweden, brought a Swedish army to the help of the Allies. To meet this formidable coalition Napoleon made herculean efforts. By April 1813 he had raised a new army of half a million raw, untrained conscripts, and with this army he inflicted severe defeats on the Allies at Lützen in Saxony, and at Bautzen in Silesia. But his lack of cavalry prevented him from following up his victories, and in June, hoping to gain time to strengthen his position, he concluded a two-months' armistice with the Allies.

The delay was fatal to his cause. Austria, which had been wavering, joined the alliance against him, and by the end of August he was menaced by three strong armies, commanded by Bernadotte in Prussia, Blücher in Silesia, and Schwarzenberg in Bohemia. Against the Austrians under Schwarzenberg Napoleon gained a brilliant but fruitless victory at Dresden, but his lieutenants were everywhere defeated, and the converging weight of the three allied armies drove him back to make a last stand at Leipzig. There the great three-days' 'Battle of the Nations' took

place (October 10-19, 1813). The result was a crushing and irremediable defeat. Napoleon's army was shattered, and a broken remnant recrossed the Rhine in November. Yet still Napoleon refused to acknowledge defeat. At Frankfurt, in November, the Allies offered him generous terms: France was to have her 'natural boundaries' — the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine. The terms were refused, and with their refusal Napoleon threw away his last chance. The Allies determined to invade France. In January 1814 a Prussian army under Blücher was advancing along the valley of the Marne towards Paris, while Schwarzenberg was moving up along the valley of the Seine. With his back to the wall Napoleon fought a magnificent defensive campaign. He defeated Blücher at Montmirail, and Schwarzenberg at Montereau. But the only effect of his victories was to strengthen the alliance against him. At Chaumont, in March, England, Austria, Russia and Prussia pledged themselves to maintain 150,000 men each in the field until Napoleon was overthrown. Irresistibly the allied armies moved on to Paris. Napoleon's last attempt to stop them, by a movement towards the eastern frontier to threaten their communications, failed and in March the Allies entered Paris. Even now Napoleon wanted to fight on, but his marshals refused to follow him, and at last he had to admit defeat. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau he renounced for himself and his son all claim to the French throne, in return for the title of Emperor, the Principality of Elba, and a pension of two million francs. The Napoleonic epic seemed to be at an end.

The Settlement of France. Once Napoleon was out of the way in Elba, the Allies were disposed to be lenient. The Count of Provence, brother of the guillotined King, came to the throne as Louis XVIII, but he was induced to grant to the French people a 'Charter' promising constitutional government, equality of opportunity, liberty of the Press, and the maintenance of the existing land settlement. And the first Treaty of Paris (May 1814) gave back to France the

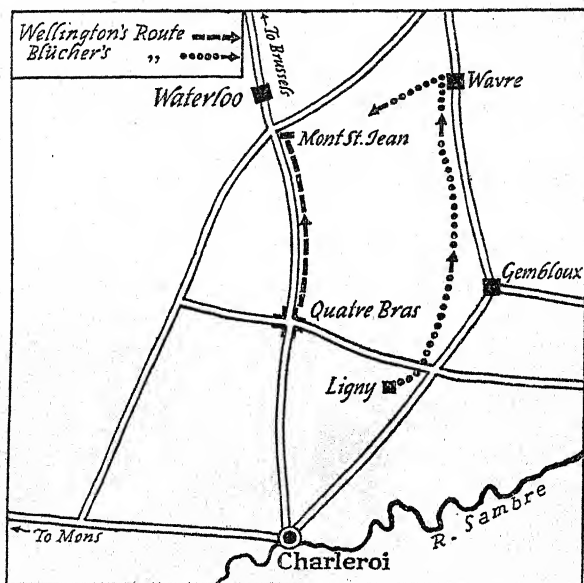
frontiers of 1792, without loss of territory or war indemnity. Then, satisfied that the future of France was assured, the victorious sovereigns and statesmen assembled at Vienna to discuss the resettlement of the rest of Europe.

But the position in France was not as satisfactory as it appeared. The Bourbon King came back as the symbol of defeat and humiliation, and his rule was unpopular from the first. Within a few months that unpopularity had greatly increased. The peasants were apprehensive lest the returning *émigrés* should reclaim their land. The disbanded veterans of Austerlitz and Wagram sat at home grumbling, and dreaming of the great days of the Emperor. From Elba Napoleon watched eagerly the growing signs of discontent. And he was further encouraged by the news that the victorious Powers were wrangling at Vienna over the distribution of the spoils, especially over Poland and Saxony. France was tired of the Bourbons, and the Powers were hopelessly divided. It was his opportunity. On March 1st, 1815, he landed in the south of France with a thousand men, and the last and most fantastic of his adventures began.

The Hundred Days. The triumphal journey to Paris was a testimony both to the unpopularity of the Bourbons and to the magic of Napoleon's name. The peasants welcomed him with open arms; the troops sent to bar his path refused to fire; and Ney, who had set off from Paris to bring Napoleon back 'in an iron cage,' threw in his lot with his old master. On March 20th Napoleon was back in the Tuileries, master of France. But no longer as the dictator and tyrant. He came now as the saviour of the Revolution, as the apostle of freedom and peace. How much sincerity there was in these protestations, and in his new-found Liberalism, he never had the opportunity of demonstrating. For the Powers had renewed their Quadruple Alliance and were mobilising for the final struggle. By the beginning of June the English army under Wellington and the Prussian under Blücher were assembled in Belgium, preparing to invade France. Napoleon decided to strike

there, before the remainder of the enemy forces were ready, and the issue was decided on the plain of Waterloo.

Napoleon's plan was to drive a wedge in between the English and Prussian armies and to defeat each in turn; and the plan very nearly succeeded. On June 14th he arrived, unexpected by the Allies, at Charleroi, and found



WATERLOO

the British and Prussian armies unprepared and not yet united. Ney was sent to hold Wellington at Quatre-bras, while Napoleon, with the main force, attacked Blücher at Ligny (June 16th). After a stubborn contest Blücher was defeated and forced to retreat. But at Quatre-bras Wellington repulsed the French, and he was able to make an orderly retirement towards Waterloo. It was at this point that Napoleon made the fatal mistake which lost him the campaign. He assumed that Blücher would

retire eastwards along his line of communications to Liège, and detached Grouchy, with 30,000 men, to pursue the Prussians. In fact, Blücher had retired northwards, along a line parallel to the English retirement, to Wavre, where he renewed contact with Wellington and promised him support in the event of a French attack. Fortified by this promise, on June 17th Wellington took up a strong defensive position on the ridge of Mont St Jean, covering Waterloo. Here on Sunday, June 18th, the final battle took place. From noon until 8 o'clock in the evening Napoleon hurled the pick of his troops in solid columns against the mixed force of English, Dutch, Belgians and Germans under Wellington's command. But Wellington had chosen his position wisely, and the English fire was steady and accurate. Each successive onslaught was repulsed. Then, late in the afternoon, Blücher's Prussians, who had been marching to Wellington's assistance, began to press in on the French right flank. At 8 p.m. Napoleon flung the Imperial Guard into a last desperate assault upon the English position. The attack failed, Wellington ordered the advance, and the French army was driven back in utter defeat. The vigorous Prussian pursuit turned the defeat into a rout; it was the broken remnant of an army that recrossed the Sambre. Napoleon had fled to Paris, and there, on June 22nd, he abdicated for the second time. Shortly after he surrendered to the English. This time his enemies were making no mistake; and the remaining six years of his life were spent as a closely guarded prisoner on the lonely island of St Helena. Even yet the story was not finished; the years of captivity he devoted to building up a legendary picture of himself as the apostle and defender of liberty, of nationalism, of peace and of religion. That legend proved strong enough to dominate the minds of men and to influence the course of politics long after Napoleon was dead.

PART II

THE AGE OF REACTION (1815-48)

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The Peace Treaties. The condition of Europe at the end of the Napoleonic Wars resembled that of a countryside from which a great flood had subsided. Everywhere the old landmarks, boundaries, properties had been swept away; only here and there an ancient structure of solid foundations had survived. Napoleon had abolished the old Holy Roman Empire, which had regulated the constitution of Germany since the Middle Ages. He had destroyed the century-old divisions of Italy and set up a united Kingdom in their place. He had brought Holland, Switzerland and Piedmont under the direct rule of France, and extended her boundaries to the Elbe and the Rhine. He had drastically reduced the dominions of Prussia and Austria and built new states—the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the kingdom of Westphalia, the Illyrian Provinces—out of their losses. The task which confronted the victorious Powers was no less than that of recreating the entire political constitution of Europe.

A start had been made with the first Treaty of Paris in May 1814. This treaty had reduced France to the boundaries of 1792, and had provided for the independence of Switzerland, the union of Belgium and Holland, the federation of Germany, the restoration of the pre-war position in Italy. Other problems, and above all the question of the division of the spoils of war, were left to a general European congress, and the statesmen of Europe

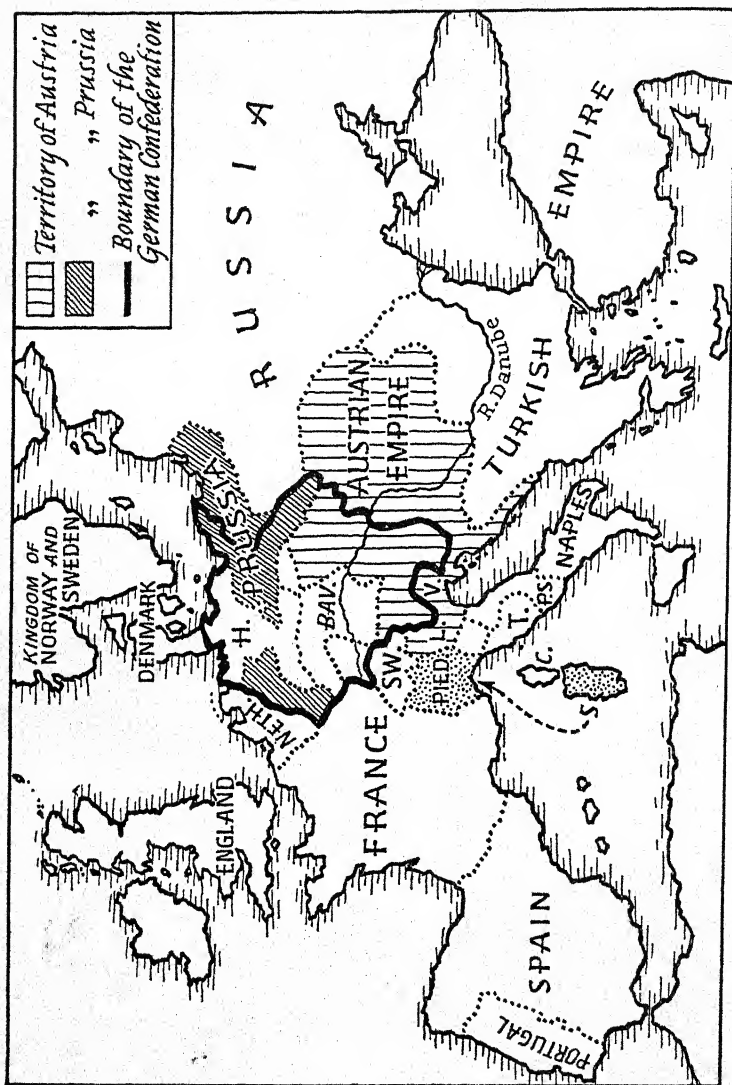
assembled at Vienna in the autumn of 1814. Their discussions, intermingled with the ceremonial balls and banquets lavishly provided by the Emperor Francis, lasted until the summer of 1815, and were interrupted by the brief but exciting interlude of the Hundred Days. But the settlement went on, and the final Treaty of Vienna was signed on June 9th, 1815, even before the overthrow of Napoleon had been achieved. The only result of that episode was the imposition of harsher terms on France by the second Treaty of Paris (November 20th, 1815), by which France was cut down to the boundaries of 1790 (*i.e.* she lost Chambéry and part of Savoy, and certain fortresses on the Belgian and German frontier); and she was compelled to restore the works of art plundered from the capitals of Europe and to pay an indemnity of £40,000,000; until the payment of which was completed, an Allied army of occupation was to be maintained in France.

The Congress of Vienna. The peace conference was in theory representatives of all the States of Europe, but in practice the settlement, like that of 1919, was the work of a little group of statesmen representing the great military Powers. England was represented at first by Castlereagh and afterwards by Wellington, and the influence of these statesmen was directed mainly to moderating the excessive demands of the more avaricious Powers, and to achieving a settlement which would have some possibility of permanence. Austria's representative, Metternich, the President of the Congress, was a reactionary, whose principal object was to 'put the clock back' to 1789, and to ensure that revolution should never again trouble the peace of Europe. The Czar Alexander, who exerted a strong influence by virtue of his immense military strength, combined two motives: a vague, sentimental liberalism and a determination that Russia should get what he considered to be her rightful due. Hardenberg, for Prussia, was out for the maximum of territorial aggrandisement. And the remaining great figure of the Congress, Talleyrand, the Minister

of Louis XVIII, the subtle intriguer who had played traitor to his own Order, to the Revolution and to Napoleon in turn, skilfully sowed discord between the other powers, in order to gain advantages for France. His schemes were remarkably successful. The Powers at one point almost went to war over the claims of Russia to Poland and of Prussia to Saxony, but the formation of a military alliance between England, Austria and France brought the two 'intransigents' to reason, and a compromise was effected.

The problems which the statesmen had to solve may be classified under three headings. They had to adjust and satisfy the claims of the victors to territorial compensation, or to the restoration of lands lost during the wars. They had to make arrangements to ensure that France should be prevented from doing further harm. And they had to make provision for the permanence of the settlement, and the maintenance of the future peace of Europe.

Territorial Rearrangements. The acquisitions which the victorious Powers obtained as a reward for their efforts may be summarised as follows: Russia gained most of the Duchy of Warsaw, which was erected into the Kingdom of Poland under the Czar himself, and took Finland from Sweden. Austria recovered the Tyrol and Lombardy and gained Venetia, thus becoming the dominant power in Italy. Prussia consolidated her scattered territories by the acquisition of Posen, Swedish Pomerania, North Saxony, Westphalia and the Rhine Province. The last acquisition was perhaps the most important from the point of view of future history. By extending her frontier to the Rhine, she became the natural defender of Germany against France. Sweden profited from her adhesion to the alliance by the gain of Norway. Finally England completed the establishment of her maritime supremacy by the acquisition of important naval stations. She gained Heligoland and Malta in Europe, Trinidad, Tobago and St Lucia in the West Indies, Mauritius and Ceylon as safeguards of her rule in India, and she purchased the Cape of Good Hope from Holland. The future of Germany and Italy was



EUROPE IN 1815

settled according to the first Treaty of Paris. Germany was reconstituted as a confederation of thirty-nine states, with a permanent Diet sitting at Frankfort; it was the nearest approach to German unity that Metternich would allow. Italy became once more 'a geographical expression' Austrian rulers were installed in the Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, the Papal States were restored, and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily reverted to its Bourbon tyrant. Only the little Kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont remained as a nucleus for Italian nationalist aspirations.

Buttresses against France. In order to insure Europe against the danger of future aggression, France was surrounded by a ring of strengthened states. Belgium was united to Holland in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Prussia was brought on to the left bank of the Rhine, the neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed by the Powers, and the Kingdom of Sardinia was strengthened by the acquisition of Genoa.

Lasting Peace. Finally, two arrangements were made to safeguard the future peace of Europe. The first, the Holy Alliance, was the work of Alexander I, who had diluted his Liberal tendencies with a dash of religious mania. In September 1815 he proposed that the sovereigns of Europe should bind themselves together in a Christian brotherhood, and undertake to observe the principles of 'Justice, Charity and Peace' in their dealings with one another. The sovereigns of Europe, embarrassed and sheepish, signed: all except George III, who was mad; the Sultan, who was not asked; and the Pope, who said that he did not require further instruction in the principles of the Christian religion. But the arrangement was never taken seriously. Metternich described it as 'mere verbiage,' Castlereagh as 'sublime mysticism and nonsense'; and it never became more than a pious aspiration. Much more practical and important was the Quadruple Alliance (November 1815), by which the four victorious Powers bound themselves to maintain the settlement of Vienna for the next twenty

years, and to meet in periodic congresses 'for the purpose of consulting on the common interest, and for the consideration of the measures most salutary for the maintenance of the peace of Europe.'

Herein lay the origin of the Concert of Europe, the attempt to regulate the affairs of Europe by discussion, and to supersede the rule of brute force by the principle of international solidarity. The Congress system was to degenerate into a mere reactionary police-force, but its creation marks the beginning of that ideal of co-operation which was to find a fuller expression in the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Results of the Settlement. The arrangements made at Vienna have been harshly criticised, because they were reactionary and because they ignored the principle of nationality. By joining Belgium to Holland and Norway to Sweden, by subjecting Poland to Russia and Italy to Austria, the statesmen of 1815 went directly counter to the new spirit which was beginning to stir in Europe. But it must be remembered that the idea of national self-government appeared to those statesmen precisely as one of those new, dangerous and subversive doctrines which it was their duty to combat; and the experience of 1919 should make us less critical of the efforts of a century earlier. In defence of this Vienna settlement it may at least be said that if impermanent, it was not vindictive, and that it provided Europe with forty years of peace.

CHAPTER IX

THE YEARS OF REACTION (1815-30)

Europe after 1815. With the banishment of Napoleon and the restoration of the 'Legitimate' rulers in France, Italy and Spain, the disturbing influence of the French Revolution might seem to be at an end. But the Europe of 1815, whatever the statesmen might do, was not the Europe of 1789. Two new, powerful ideals had emerged which were to spread and germinate until they had remodelled the political system of Europe. Those ideals were: Liberalism—the demand for personal liberty, for the freedom of the Press, for parliamentary institutions on the English model; and Nationalism—the right of a people of the same language and race to govern themselves, independent of alien control. These principles the restored despotisms of Europe set themselves resolutely to stamp out; and the dominant factor of the fifteen years after Vienna is the war of the governments against the peoples.

The reaction may be observed even in parliamentary England, where the ruling oligarchy of landlords paid lip-homage to democracy. The policy of the Government of which Castlereagh, Sidmouth and Eldon were the chief members was one of drastic repression. The suspension of Habeas Corpus, the brutal 'massacre' of Peterloo and the 'Gag Acts' of 1819 testify to their fear of popular discontent. In France the reaction was more violent. The King himself, the fat, gouty, easy-going Louis XVIII, was inclined to be tolerant and conciliatory; like Charles II of England, he had no desire to go on his travels again. His Charter of 1814 had established the forms of parliamentary government in France, and had promised religious toleration, freedom of the Press and '*la carrière ouverte*

aux talents.' And in the Duc de Richelieu he had chosen a wise, moderate and statesmanlike chief minister. But behind the King were the *émigrés*, 'plus royalistes que le roi,' and thirsting for revenge; their leader was the King's brother, the Count of Artois. At the instigation of this faction a ferocious persecution of the Bonapartists took place—the 'White Terror.' Fouché and Talleyrand were dismissed, Ney, the bravest of Napoleon's marshals, was shot, and 7000 Bonapartists were imprisoned or exiled. In Spain the cruel and treacherous Ferdinand VII abolished the Liberal Constitution of 1812, dissolved the Cortes, restored the Inquisition and the Jesuits, and gagged the Press. In Italy the reaction went to fantastic lengths. Lombardy and Venetia were held down by an Austrian army and secret police. The restored King Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia had the botanical gardens which the French had planted in Turin rooted up, and refused passports for Napoleon's road over Mont Cenis. In Naples the Inquisition and the Jesuits were restored. In Rome the Pope achieved the perfect symbolic gesture by extinguishing the street lamps which the French had set up.

Metternich and Germany. But it was in the German Confederation that the reaction assumed its most severe form. The Congress of Vienna had made Austria the dominant power in Germany. And Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, had a clear conception of the danger which Liberal ideas presented to the ramshackle Empire over which he ruled. The Austrian Empire was a heterogeneous collection of discordant nationalities: Germans, Italians, Poles, Czechs, Magyars, Croats and Slovenes were among the races contained within its boundaries. If the new ideas were to prevail the Hapsburg Empire was doomed. Metternich, himself an aristocrat of the *Ancien Régime*, set himself to persecute those ideas out of existence. Within the empire itself, he was absolute master; as far as Prussia was concerned, his influence over the King, Frederick William III, ensured the adoption of a similar policy of repression. It only remained to establish his

'system' over the rest of Germany; and for the achievement of this object the crazy excesses of hot-headed university students gave him a convenient excuse. The students had formed themselves into associations, *Burschenschaften*, to carry on patriotic and liberal propaganda. In 1817 they held a festival at the Wartburg to commemorate Luther's revolt against the Church; and during that festival various symbols of reaction—a police code, a Uhlan's stays, a pig-tail and a corporal's cane—were ceremoniously burned. In 1819 an unpopular reactionary journalist named Kotzebue was assassinated by a fanatical student. Metternich seized on these events as evidence of a widespread Liberal conspiracy. In September 1819 he persuaded a conference of German statesmen to pass a series of repressive measures known henceforth as the 'Carlsbad Decrees.' By these decrees the *Burschenschaften* were dissolved, the universities and the press were brought under strict government control, and a special police commission was set up at Mainz. With the aid of these German equivalents of the Gag Acts, and of a widespread system of espionage, Metternich was able to drive Liberalism underground in Germany until the great day of reckoning came in 1848.

The Congress System. But Metternich was not content merely with crushing the new spirit in Germany. It was necessary also to ensure its destruction elsewhere in Europe. For this purpose he used the Quadruple Alliance, which had been set up in 1815. The Alliance had been intended as a guarantee of the Vienna settlement and of the future peace of Europe. Metternich converted it into an international fire-brigade, ready at any time to extinguish revolutionary conflagrations wherever they might occur.

The Powers had agreed to meet at intervals to discuss measures necessary for safeguarding European peace. The first congress held under this agreement, at Aix la Chapelle in 1818, seemed harmless enough. It decided that the internal condition of France was sufficiently stable to warrant the removal of the Allied army of occupation, and

the admission of France to the Alliance, which now became a 'Moral Pentarchy.' And it attempted, but failed, to reach an agreement on the suppression of the Barbary pirates and of the slave trade. But even here the ulterior purpose which the Alliance was to serve began to appear: a proposal to establish congressional government on a more systematic basis was defeated by the opposition of Castlereagh.

In the second Congress, which met at Troppau, on the border of Austrian Silesia, in October 1820, the real meaning of the Alliance openly appeared. Revolutions had broken out against the Bourbon rulers of Spain and Naples, and the two Ferdinands had been compelled to set up the democratic constitution of 1812. Alexander, now wholly cured of his earlier Liberalism, proposed armed intervention to suppress the revolts, and the rulers of Russia, Austria and Prussia drew up the 'Troppau Protocol,' which provided that: 'States which have undergone a change of government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other states, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other States, the Powers bind themselves by peaceful means, or, if need be, by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance.' At this point Castlereagh took a firm stand. He had joined the Quadruple Alliance to maintain the peace of Europe, but he did not propose to be drawn into a conspiracy for the maintenance of absolute despotism in Europe and for the destruction of all traces of liberty. He denounced the Protocol on the grounds that 'it would inevitably sanction a much more extensive interference in the internal transactions of states than can be reconcilable either with the general interest or with the efficient authority and dignity of independent sovereigns'; and he refused to join in any project for armed intervention in Naples or Spain. But in 1821 Ferdinand of Naples, having taken the most solemn oaths to maintain the constitution, appeared before the Congress, which had adjourned to Laibach, and appealed

to the Powers for assistance. The Congress authorised Metternich to take the necessary steps, and an Austrian army marched down into Naples and restored the absolute power of Ferdinand. A revolt which had subsequently broken out in Piedmont was also crushed, and despotism was once more triumphant in Italy.

Breakdown of the Congress System. Meanwhile, the 'fire-brigade' had been further alarmed by events in Eastern Europe. The Greeks had risen in rebellion against the weak and inefficient rule of the Sultan, and had massacred large numbers of Turks in the Morea. The Turks had retaliated by hanging the Patriarch of Constantinople, a pillar of the Greek Orthodox Church, and by slaughtering such Greeks as they could lay their hands on. The situation raised difficult problems for the Powers.

The Greeks were rebels, and, as such, to be condemned. But they were of the same religion as the Czar, whom they regarded as their natural protector; and Alexander, with an eye on Constantinople, was at first disposed to come to their assistance. But Metternich was able to convince him of the danger of sympathy with rebels, and the project was abandoned. It was to discuss this problem and the Spanish situation that the third Congress met at Verona in 1822. The Greek question was not raised, but with regard to Spain the Powers proposed joint intervention. That proposal was defeated by the resolute opposition of Canning, who had succeeded Castlereagh at the British Foreign Office, and had adopted his predecessor's policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of States. But Canning was unable to prevent France, now under the reactionary rule of Villèle, from sending troops over the Pyrenees to abolish the Constitution and to restore the despotism of Ferdinand VII.

The Congress System was already weakened by England's refusal to participate in joint intervention in Spain. It was now to receive its death blow from events outside Europe. Since 1810 the Spanish-American colonies had been in a state of rebellion against the mother-country, and joint

action by the Powers to reduce them to subjection had been suggested. Here Canning was able to take a stronger line. Without the consent of Great Britain no European expedition to South America was possible. And England had extensive and growing trade connections with South America. Canning bluntly informed France, therefore, that England would not tolerate any attempt by the Powers to restore the authority of Spain in South America. In this he was supported by the United States. The Monroe Doctrine (December 1823) explicitly prohibited any intervention by European Powers in the American continent. Faced with this threat, the Powers could do nothing. The Spanish colonies established their independence, and their autonomy was recognised by Canning in 1824.

Congressional government was dead, and an attempt by Alexander to revive it in 1825 failed. Alexander summoned a Congress at St Petersburg to discuss the Greek problem. But England refused to attend it. Austria and Russia quarrelled over the question of intervention in Greece, and the Congress broke up without achieving anything. Henceforth, as Canning expressed it, it was to be 'every nation for itself, and God for us all.'

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

France under the Bourbons. We have seen how the second restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in France in 1815 had led to a period of violent reaction and repression known as the 'White Terror.' But that reaction was mainly the work of a small faction of Ultra-royalists, and by the end of 1816 its violence had abated. France, under the rule of the tactful and conciliatory Louis XVIII (1814-24) and his capable chief minister, Richelieu, began to settle down into a peaceful and orderly routine. The financial situation of the country was placed on a firmer footing, and at Aix-la-Chapelle the Powers signified their approval of the condition of France by withdrawing the army of occupation and admitting her to the Alliance. In the same year the elections even showed a mild tendency towards Liberalism. Richelieu resigned and a more Liberal leader, Décazes, became chief minister. It looked as though France might evolve an orderly constitutional system like that of England.

But in 1820 an event occurred which called a halt to these progressive tendencies. The Duc de Berri, son of the Count of Artois and probable heir to the throne, was assassinated by an anti-Bourbon fanatic. The Ultra-royalists at once seized on the crime as an excuse for further reaction. Press censorship was renewed, the electoral system was modified in the direction of a narrower franchise, and in 1821 an Ultra-royalist, the Marquis de Villèle, was made chief minister. He proceeded to show in what direction his sympathies lay by sending a French army to crush the Liberal revolution in Spain and to restore the despotic power of Ferdinand VII.

With the accession of the Count of Artois as Charles X (1824-30), the swing to the Right became even more pronounced. Artois had been the leader of the Ultra-royalist faction; and he proceeded to govern in the interests of the Church and the *émigrés*. The Jesuits were restored to their old influence, the Press was subjected to a severe censorship, and the question of compensation to the *émigrés* for their lost lands was raised. Under these circumstances the old revolutionary spirit of France began to reawaken. The elections of 1827 returned a majority hostile to the Government. Charles X made a brief attempt at conciliation. He dismissed Villèle, and appointed a more moderate minister, the Vicomte de Martignac. But the Opposition was not appeased; and the King veered on to the opposite tack. He determined to crush resistance by force, and called to power the Prince de Polignac, an Ultra-royalist *émigré* and one of the best-hated men in France. The opposition grew stronger; Lafayette toured the provinces, reawaking memories of the glorious past; Talleyrand intrigued against the Government; and Thiers, the Liberal leader, organised revolutionary propaganda. The elections of 1830 returned a still more Liberal majority.

The July Revolution. Undaunted, the King and his minister prepared a *coup d'état*. On July 25th, 1830, they issued the Ordinances of St Cloud, which dissolved the Parliament, reduced the electorate to 25,000 persons and completely abolished the freedom of the Press. Paris took up the challenge. Thiers proclaimed that 'the Government has violated the laws; we are dispensed from obeying it.' On July 27th barricades were thrown up all over Paris and street-fighting began; on the 29th the regular troops mutinied and joined the rebels. Charles X abdicated and fled to England; and the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe, as the descendant of a junior branch of the Bourbon House, satisfied the principle of legitimacy; while as the son of that 'Philippe Egalité,' who had gone over to the Revolution,

and as the man who had fought at Valmy and Jémappes, he embodied the revolutionary tradition. The rebel leaders took as their model the English experiment of a constitutional monarchy, in which, as Thiers said: 'the King reigns but does not govern.'

The Revolution in Belgium. The July Revolution in Paris had immediate repercussions on the neighbouring Kingdom of the Netherlands. Belgium had suffered a variety of rulers since the sixteenth century. At that time the whole of the Netherlands had been under the domination of Spain. But the northern provinces had successfully revolted and had set up an independent republic in Holland. The remainder, the modern Belgium, had remained under Spanish rule until the eighteenth century, when it was transferred to the Austrian branch of the Hapsburg House. As an Austrian possession it had been conquered and annexed by France at the beginning of the Revolutionary Wars, and later Napoleon had brought Holland also under French control. The Congress of Vienna had sought to set up a strong barrier-state against France by uniting Belgium and Holland in the Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Dutch King William I.

But the union had not been a success. The Belgians were Roman Catholic, the Dutch Calvinist; the French occupation had made Belgium largely French in language and outlook, while Holland remained Teutonic; and finally, Belgium was industrial and agricultural, while Holland was chiefly commercial. These causes of dissension were exacerbated by the unwise policy pursued by the Dutch government, which attempted to treat Belgium as a conquered possession. The Hague was made the seat of government; Dutch became the official language, and although the population of Belgium was nearly twice that of Holland, each had the same number of representatives in the States-General. Finally, taxation was adjusted so as to fall more heavily on the Belgians (*e.g.* the Flour Tax).

Belgian discontent against this subjugation grew steadily

and the July Revolution provided the necessary stimulus. On August 5th, 1830, the performance of a revolutionary opera at Brussels gave the signal for a riot, which rapidly became a revolution. The Prince of Orange, son of William I, advanced on Brussels with 10,000 men but was repulsed; and in October the rebels proclaimed the independence of Belgium and summoned a National Convention to draw up a constitution. Their situation was critical; the revolt was a breach of the Treaties of 1815, and as such merited the intervention of the Eastern Powers. But two events in November saved the Belgians: Palmerston came to the English Foreign Office and immediately took up their cause; and a revolution broke out in Poland which effectively tied the hands of Austria, Russia and Prussia. A Conference of Powers summoned at London therefore agreed to recognise the independence of Belgium. The next question was the choice of a monarch. The Belgians, anxious to obtain French protection, offered the throne to the Duc de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe. But Louis, prompted by Palmerston, refused the offer and the choice finally fell on Léopold of Saxe-Coburg. William I still refused to accept the situation and invaded Belgium; but a French army drove out the Dutch troops and was itself in turn forced to evacuate Belgium by a threat of war from Palmerston. Finally in May 1832 the five Powers formally recognised the independence of Belgium and guaranteed her neutrality, though the Dutch King obstinately refused to recognise the *fait accompli* until 1839.

Further Repercussions. The revolutionary impulse was not confined to France and Belgium. The brief and desperate 'Peasants Revolt' of 1830 in England was due primarily to rural misery, and had no connection with the Liberal movement in Europe. But the July Revolution greatly stimulated the demand for Parliamentary reform in England, and raised the hopes of English Radicals. In Germany also the influence was felt; the Duke of Brunswick was driven out, and the Elector of Hesse forced to grant a constitution. But the repressive alliance of Austria

and Prussia was too strong to allow the movement to spread; and the revolutionary spirit was driven underground by a fresh series of reactionary measures. In Italy, where secret societies like the Carbonari ('charcoal burners') had been organised to work for revolution, revolts broke out in the Papal States, Parma and Modena. But here also the influence of Austria was paramount, and Austrian armies came to the rescue of the despotic governments.

It was in Poland that the July Revolution exerted its most powerful influence. The Czar Alexander, by establishing a Kingdom of Poland with a constitution of its own, had encouraged the Poles to dream once more of national independence. But as his Liberalism waned, the Russian rule became more and more oppressive, and the succession of the harsh and despotic Nicholas I in 1825 had riveted the chains more tightly. In November 1830, relying on help from the new *régime* in France, the Poles rose in rebellion and drove the Russians out of the country. But it was a movement rather of the Polish nobility than of the nation; the Poles could only muster an army of 40,000; and the expected help from France did not come. An army of 120,000 Russians entered Poland, and after a heroic resistance the revolt was crushed. The only result was that the Constitution was abolished, and Poland became a province of the Russian Empire.

Thus the general outcome of the movements of 1830 was discouraging to European Liberals. France and Belgium had successfully thrown off the shackles of Vienna; but elsewhere the 'Metternich System' remained supreme for another eighteen years.

CHAPTER XI

THE ORLEANS MONARCHY AND THE SECOND EMPIRE (1830-52)

Weakness of the Orleans Monarchy. Between 1789 and 1830 the French had made three experiments in government. They had tried a democratic republic, a military dictatorship and a legitimate monarchy; and had rejected all three. They now embarked upon a fourth experiment: a limited constitutional monarchy on the English model. That experiment was doomed to failure from the very beginning. The Orleans monarchy suffered from two fatal weaknesses. First, it was illogical. The French understood government by Divine Right; they understood the Sovereignty of the People; but the Orleans monarchy was neither legitimate nor democratic; it was an uneasy compromise between the two. Secondly, it commanded the support of only one small section of the French people—the commercial and industrial middle class. The monarchy was essentially bourgeois; Louis Philippe, 'the Citizen King,' with his stove-pipe hat and his umbrella, resembled a typical head of a French middle-class family; his Parliament was elected by persons paying 200 francs in direct taxation—in other words, by the middle class; and the objects of his Government were peace, commercial expansion and prosperity. In England that middle class was strong enough to capture power by the great Reform Bill, and to retain it undisputed for half a century; but in France it was not nearly so important. France was essentially a country of small peasants; and the peasants cared nothing for middle-class compromises and middle-class prosperity. The Orleans monarchy began in indifference and was overthrown by boredom.

Foreign Policy. What shreds of popularity Louis Philippe had at the beginning he dissipated by a feeble and inglorious foreign policy. The Government was certainly in a difficult situation; frowned on as revolutionary by the Eastern Powers and only half-heartedly supported by England, it was not in a position for adventurous enterprises abroad. The attempts which Louis Philippe did make brought nothing but humiliation and isolation to his country.

The first set-back came over the affair of Mehemet Ali. In 1839 war had broken out between the Sultan and Mehemet Ali, the rebellious Viceroy of Egypt, and the Sultan had again appealed to the Powers for assistance. Palmerston, determined to prevent the disruption of the Turkish Empire, had summoned a conference of the Powers to London, where joint action against Mehemet Ali was decided on. France alone rashly supported Mehemet Ali; but her protests were blandly ignored by Palmerston, and the agreement of the Powers was reached over her head. Thiers, the French Chief Minister, was furious and threatened war; but Palmerston instructed the English Ambassador to convey 'in the most friendly and inoffensive fashion that if France throws down the gauntlet, Great Britain would not refuse to pick it up.' The threat was enough; France pocketed her pride, and Thiers resigned, to be succeeded by the less bellicose Guizot.

The second adventure was no more fortunate. In Switzerland a conflict had arisen between the northern Protestant Liberal cantons and the Southern League (the *Sonderbund*, which was Catholic and reactionary. Louis Philippe and Guizot, who were gravitating towards the Eastern Powers, supported the *Sonderbund*. But the northern cantons were backed by Palmerston, and France suffered the mortification of seeing the Protestants obtain a complete victory.

But it was in the affair of the Spanish Marriages that Louis Philippe made his greatest blunder. The Queen of Spain,

Isabella, and her younger sister, the Infanta Maria Louisa, were both unmarried, and the French king sought the hand of the Infanta for his son, the Duc de Montpensier. England had agreed to the betrothal, provided that the marriage did not take place until the Queen was married and had an heir. Louis Philippe broke his word and arranged a simultaneous marriage between the Queen and her weakling cousin, the Duke of Cadiz, and between the Infanta and the Duc de Montpensier. England was disgusted at the shabby and dishonourable trick, and Louis Philippe lost his only ally in Europe.

Growth of Opposition. Meanwhile, discontent was steadily increasing at home. The Government's internal policy was no more creditable than that abroad; its power rested on organised bribery and corruption. Members of the Chamber of Deputies were induced to vote for the Government by the offer of sinecures; and by the end of the reign one-third of the Chamber were placemen under the Government. 'What is the Chamber?' asked Lamennais; 'a great bazaar, where everyone barter his conscience, or what passes for his conscience, in exchange for a place or an office.' Under these circumstances the Liberal demand for wholesale reform of the electoral system grew ever stronger. And in the 'forties the Liberals received support from a new and powerful ally—Socialism. France was now undergoing her Industrial Revolution, and the same social effects as had been visible in England were beginning to be felt: unemployment, low wages, long hours and the brutal discipline of the factory. Working-class riots had already taken place in the 'thirties in Lyons and elsewhere. Now a leader appeared to give cohesion and purpose to the widespread discontent. Louis Blanc published his *Organisation of Labour* in 1839, and founded practical Socialism in France. He taught that men had 'the right to work' and that the State must guarantee them that right. The immediate method by which he proposed that this should be achieved was by the establishment of National Workshops for the unemployed.

The idea was eagerly taken up, and Socialism became a force to be reckoned with.

At the same time opposition to the Government was arising from another quarter. The reign of Louis Philippe witnessed a great revival of the Napoleonic Legend. In 1840 the body of the Emperor was brought from St Helena and buried with great ceremony in Les Invalides. Bonapartism was not strong enough to overturn the monarchy; Louis Napoleon, the nephew of the Emperor, staged two attempted *coups d'état* in 1836 and 1840, and both were complete and humiliating failures. But the revived memories of the Empire made the present *régime* seem even shabbier and dingier by contrast.

The Revolution of 1848. Corrupt and unpopular at home, feeble and ineffective abroad, the Orleans monarchy was obviously doomed. Its overthrow was almost accidental. On February 21st, 1848, Louis Philippe and Guizot prohibited the holding of a banquet which had been arranged for the following day by the Liberals, as a demonstration in favour of electoral reform. The prohibition caused a certain amount of rioting in Paris, and the National Guard was called out. At once the weakness of the Government appeared. The Guard shouted 'Vive la Réforme! A bas Guizot!' under the King's windows. The King hastily surrendered to the popular clamour, and dismissed Guizot. The crisis appeared to have passed. But on the 23rd a mob was demonstrating outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where Guizot was; a troop of soldiers was drawn up to protect the Ministry; somebody in the crowd fired a pistol and killed the officer in charge; the troop replied by firing a volley into the crowd, killing thirty-five people. That pistol-shot, it has been said, overthrew the Orleans monarchy. Paris rose in rebellion; barricades were set up, and street-fighting began. On the 24th Louis Philippe gave it up, abdicated, and fled to England. A Republic was proclaimed, and a Provisional Government was set up, composed partly of moderate Republicans like Lamartine, the poet and orator, and partly

of Socialists like Louis Blanc. And a National Assembly was summoned, to be elected by universal suffrage.

The Second Republic. The Revolution was the work of two combined parties: middle-class Republicans and proletarian Socialists. Under the influence of the latter one part of the programme of Louis Blanc was realised: National Workshops were opened in Paris. But the Workshops were a failure. Work could not be found, and the men were reduced to digging holes in the Champ de Mars and then filling them in again. And in any case two elements so diverse could not work long in harness. The elections to the Assembly showed that France was not prepared for a Socialist Revolution: the great majority of the deputies elected were moderate Republicans, only very few Socialists being returned. When the Assembly met in May 1848 an anti-Socialist reaction began. A new Government was set up, from which all Socialists were excluded; troops were moved into Paris under the command of General Cavaignac; and on June 21st the National Workshops were closed. At once the Paris proletariat rose in rebellion, and for three terrible days (June 23rd to 26th) ferocious street-fighting went on in Paris. The Government was victorious; 10,000 rioters were killed in the fighting, and 6000 more transported to Algeria; and the 'Red Terror' was overcome. But the slaughter left a legacy of fierce hatred for the Government; and the provinces, wildly alarmed by the Socialist menace, began to look for a strong man to rescue them from anarchy and chaos. The deliverer was soon forthcoming. The Constitution of the Republic, promulgated in October, provided for a single-chamber Legislature elected by universal suffrage, and a President, also elected by universal suffrage for four years. In December the elections were held, and the Man of Destiny appeared. Louis Napoleon, surrounded by the glory of his famous uncle's name, and promising peace and order at home and honour abroad, was elected President by a huge majority. The attitude of the French peasant was illustrated by the words of a Napoleonic veteran as he approached the ballot

box: 'Why shouldn't I vote for this gentleman, I, whose nose was frozen near Moscow?'

The Coup d'état of December 2nd. Already Louis Napoleon was determined to make himself master of France; but he knew how to wait, and for two years he skilfully prepared the ground. By tours of the provinces, by careful dissemination of the 'Napoleonic Legend,' by posing as the defender of order against anarchy, by issuing extra liquorations to the army, he made himself a popular hero. And meanwhile the Assembly, by a policy of stupid reaction, played into his hands. They persecuted the Socialists; they passed the 'Loi Falloux,' strengthening the control of the clergy over education; and in May 1850 they changed the electoral law, cutting down the electorate by one-third, and reducing 'universal suffrage' to a mockery. By the end of 1851 the President was sufficiently sure of his ground to resort to force. On the night of December 1st-2nd, a successful *coup d'état* was carried out. The leaders of the Opposition were arrested in their beds, and Paris awoke to find the walls placarded with proclamations dissolving the Assembly and calling on the people to decide by plebiscite whether the President should be empowered to revise the Constitution. The blow was too sudden and too well organised to allow of any effective resistance; and to make sure that resistance should not develop later, the new dictator had over 10,000 Radicals transported to Algeria and Cayenne. With the opposition cowed and the plebiscite stage-managed, it is not surprising that Louis Napoleon obtained the majority he sought. Over seven million voted in favour of a revision of the Constitution. Louis Napoleon, thus authorised, produced a new Constitution in January. The President was to hold office for ten years and to exercise all executive powers; and the Legislative Assembly was reduced to impotence. It was dictatorship in fact, if not in name. And before the year ended, the last shreds of disguise were stripped away. In November 1852 a second plebiscite authorised Louis Napoleon to assume the title of Emperor, and on the

anniversary of his *coup d'état* he was officially proclaimed 'Napoleon III, Emperor of the French.' Thus within four years a Liberal revolution had ended in dictatorship. We must now turn to follow the fortunes of the Liberals elsewhere in Europe.

CHAPTER XII

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

Character of the Revolutions. The failure of the Revolutions of 1830 and the restoration of the brutal and repressive "Metternich system" had seemed to establish the despotic Governments of Europe even more firmly than before, and to put an end to Liberal aspirations. But the appearance was deceptive; under the surface Europe was seething with revolutionary activity. In Italy, Mazzini had founded the 'Young Italy' movement to work for freedom and independence. In Hungary, Louis Kossuth had become the leader of a Magyar national movement. In France, as we have seen, Liberals and Socialists were united in opposition to the Orleans Monarchy. Europe was already smouldering; the February Revolution in Paris set it ablaze, and all the various elements of discontent, of hope, of idealism combined to produce the most tremendous upheaval of the nineteenth century. Of these elements two especially must be distinguished. The Revolutions of 1848 were the result of the democratic ideal and of nationalism. The two were mingled in different proportions in the different countries. In France and Austria, where the people had already a government of their own race and language, the revolutions were primarily directed to the establishment of a free constitution. In disunited Germany, in oppressed Italy and Hungary, where the people chafed against an alien domination, the object of the rebels was the achievement of national unity and independence. The two ideals were really two aspects of the same thing, and that thing was the determination of a vigorous and growing middle class to overthrow an outworn autocratic and feudal system, and to seize power for itself.

I. THE REVOLUTION IN GERMANY

In Germany the two elements were combined in equal strength. Within the various States of the Confederation, the people rose to overthrow despotism and to establish Parliamentary government, freedom of the Press, social equality and the right to control their own destinies; while at the same time the Liberals worked to destroy the weak and inefficient Confederation of 1815 and to establish a strong, united German State.

Revolution and Reaction in the States. We must deal first with the attempt to establish constitutional government within the States. Everywhere in Germany the news of the Paris Revolution came as the signal for revolt. Everywhere the Governments capitulated to the demand of their subjects for freedom. The Grand Duke of Baden, the Elector of Hesse-Cassel, the Kings of Bavaria and Hanover established Constitutions and set up Liberal ministries. But it was in Prussia, the very stronghold of military despotism, that the movement gained its most startling success. On March 18th, 1848, a mob rising took place in Berlin, and street-fighting began. The tough 'Junker' officers were fully prepared to deal with the 'scum of Berlin,' as they termed them; but Frederick William IV, moved by fear and scruples, surrendered to the rioters, moved his troops out of Berlin and saluted the dead bodies of the slain rebels. Two days later he led a Liberal procession through the streets of Berlin, clad in the red, black and gold which had been adopted as the colours of united Germany, and announced that henceforth 'Prussia is merged in Germany.' Finally, he summoned a Constituent Assembly to draw up a constitution for the new Prussia.

It was a promising beginning. But Frederick William's Liberalism was as impermanent as it was startling. By the autumn of 1848 the tide was everywhere beginning to turn against the revolutionaries. Prague had been subdued by military force in June, and Vienna surrendered to the

Emperor's troops in October. Frederick William remembered that he was a Hohenzollern, and that he had a loyal army behind him. In December he dissolved the Constituent Assembly, with its work unfinished, and he followed up the dissolution by proclaiming a constitution of his own, which was anything but Liberal; it left the King in possession of supreme executive power, and the ministers responsible to him alone; and it established a legislature in which the wealthier classes were heavily over-represented. It was a constitution, but it was as different from that desired by the Liberals as chalk is from cheese. The Prussian revolution was over. The King's power was to rest in the future, as it had rested in the past, not on the will of his people, but on his Potsdam grenadiers.

The Frankfort Parliament. Meanwhile, the attempt to build a united Germany had been going on. In March 1848 a preliminary Convention (*Vorparlament*) had met, adopted the red, black and gold flag and summoned a German National Assembly, elected by universal suffrage, to draw up a constitution for the German nation. The Parliament met at Frankfort in May. It consisted mainly of professors, lawyers and doctrinaires, men of great learning and high ideals, but with no practical experience of affairs; and it proceeded to devote itself to interminable, high-flown debates on the rights of the German people. The fundamental difficulty was Austria. Austria seemed too closely linked by blood and tradition to be excluded; yet how could that heterogeneous medley of races be included in a purely German State? It was finally decided to exclude Austria, and a Constitution was drawn up providing for a Federal Empire, with a hereditary Emperor and a two-chamber Parliament. And in March 1849 the Frankfort Assembly offered the Imperial Crown to Frederick William of Prussia. But the King had now recovered from his brief attack of Liberalism. Fearing the vengeance of Austria, and disdainful of 'a crown picked up from the gutter,' Frederick William refused the offer. At once the

whole scheme fell to the ground. The Frankfort Parliament had no military force at its disposal, no means of enforcing its decrees. There was nothing to be done. Bit by bit the Parliament melted away, and in June the last remnant was forcibly dissolved. The attempt to build a united Germany by parliamentary resolutions had failed. It remained for Bismarck to try more drastic methods in the future.

2. THE REVOLUTION IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

In the Hapsburg Empire also the movement was twofold. In Austria itself the German-speaking population sought merely to "liberalise" the Empire, to replace the iron despotism of Metternich by a free, constitutional government. Among the Czechs of Bohemia and the Magyars of Hungary, on the other hand, the object was primarily to secure national autonomy and freedom from foreign control. But the strands were closely interwoven. The subjugation of the Czechs of Prague led to the overthrow of Liberalism in Vienna, and the fall of Vienna set free the forces of the Imperial Government to concentrate on the reduction of Hungary.

The Revolution. It was in Hungary that the movement began. There a strong Magyar nationalist movement already existed under the leadership of the fiery orator and journalist, Louis Kossuth. On March 3rd, 1848, inspired by the news of the Paris Revolution, Kossuth made a famous speech in which he proclaimed that 'the suffocating vapour of a heavy curse hangs over us, and out of the charnel-house of the Vienna Cabinet a pestilential wind sweeps by, benumbing our senses, and exercising a deadening effect upon our national spirit.' The speech roused Hungary into a demand for independence. The Hungarian Diet passed the 'March Laws,' providing for the abolition of serfdom and the establishment of a Hungarian Constitution. The Imperial Government was powerless to resist these demands, and by the end of

March a Hungarian National Constitution was set up under the presidency of Count Batthyany.

From Hungary the movement spread to Vienna itself. There rioting began on March 13th. Metternich was forced to escape in a laundry cart, and made his way to England, which provided a haven for dictator and demagogue alike with sublime impartiality. The Emperor Ferdinand, deprived of his strongest counsellor, gave way and granted a Constitution. But the mob was not yet appeased, and in May further rioting compelled the Emperor to fly to Innsbruck, leaving Vienna in the control of a revolutionary committee. It was the high-water mark of the revolution.

Meanwhile a third wave of insurrection had arisen among the Czechs of Bohemia. Encouraged by the success of Hungary, the Czechs had demanded and obtained from the Emperor the recognition of their right to a national government of their own. They proceeded to summon a Pan-Slav Congress to Prague, in order to organise a union of the various Slav races within the empire. The Congress met in June, but the windy eloquence of the delegates excited a mob riot in Prague; and Prague was under the rule of a military governor, Prince Windischgrätz, who was not to be intimidated by mob violence. Windischgrätz collected his troops and bombarded Prague. The city immediately surrendered, the Emperor's authority was restored, and martial law proclaimed. The Bohemian revolution was over. It was the first victory for the forces of law and order.

The Reaction. From this moment the tide turned rapidly. In July the Austrian general Radetsky gained a decisive victory over the Italian nationalist forces at Custoza. And in Hungary an unexpected ally of the Imperial Government had appeared. Hungary was only in part Magyar; it contained also a numerous Slav population of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes; and to the Slav population the Magyars were denying the national independence which they claimed for themselves. The result was that the Southern Slavs became the allies of the Emperor against

the Magyars. Already a Slav noble, Count Jellachich, had been made Governor of Croatia. In September Jellachich, at the head of a Croat army, invaded Hungary. The invasion was repulsed; but Jellachich now turned his arms against the Austrian rebels, and marched on Vienna. At the same time Windischgrätz, having completed the subjugation of Bohemia, was also moving on Vienna. The city was besieged, and, after a week's bombardment, surrendered. Windischgrätz entered the city in triumph and put an end to the revolution. Immediately a great reaction began. Metternich's place was taken by an equally resolute and despotic governor, Prince Schwarzenberg. The rebel leaders were executed and the constitution abolished. The feeble Emperor Ferdinand was induced to abdicate in favour of his young nephew, Francis Joseph. By the end of the year the Hapsburg despotism was restored in all its former rigour.

It only remained to crush the revolution in Hungary. Early in 1849 the Austrian armies under Windischgrätz advanced on Budapest. At first the Hungarian general, Görgei, was successful, and held the Austrians at bay. Kossuth, emboldened by the success, took the final step, and threw off the allegiance of the Emperor. Hungary was declared an independent state, and Kossuth became a temporary dictator. But the proclamation brought to the help of the Emperor a new and powerful ally. The Czar Nicholas, the champion of legitimate monarchy, sent a strong Russian army to aid the Austrians. Against this tremendous combination of forces resistance was hopeless. Görgei, after a series of defeats, surrendered to the Russians at Vilagos. Kossuth fled to Turkey. And Hungary was handed over to the vengeance of the bloodthirsty 'Austrian butcher,' General Haynau, who stamped out the remains of the rebellion with a savage ferocity, for which he was to suffer chastisement at the hands of Messrs. Barclay and Perkins' draymen, when he was rash enough to visit London. With the exception of Italy, the Revolution in the Hapsburg dominions was at an end.

The Humiliation of Olmütz. Having set her house in order, Austria could now turn to the restoration of her influence over Germany, which had been severely shaken by the events of 1848. Frederick William of Prussia had, as we have seen, declined the offer of the German Imperial Crown. But he continued to play with the idea of German unity, and had, in consultation with the Kings of Saxony and Hanover, proposed a federal union centering round Prussia. Schwarzenberg, as a true successor of Metternich, was determined to destroy all possibility of German unity; and he counted on the superior military power of Austria, and on the weakness and indecision of Frederick William, to enforce his will. At a meeting with the Prussian representative at Olmütz in 1850 he compelled Prussia to abandon the idea of a federal union and to accept the restoration of the old ramshackle confederation of 1815. After two years of turmoil and strife Germany was as weak and disunited as she had been before; and Austria was once more the dominant Power in Central Europe.

3. THE REVOLUTION IN ITALY

Spring-time. Since the failure of the uprisings of 1830 the Nationalist and Liberal movement in Italy had been steadily gathering strength. In 1831 Mazzini, driven into exile at Marseilles, had founded the 'Association of Young Italy,' and since that time he had been conducting powerful propaganda in favour of Italian unity. Another writer, Gioberti, had set forth the ideal of a free federal Italy under the presidency of the Pope; and in Piedmont a monarchist movement, headed by the journalist Cavour, looked to King Charles Albert to unite Italy under his rule. These hopes and aspirations had been greatly stimulated by the accession in 1846 of a Pope, Pius IX, who was known to be in sympathy with the Liberal movement. Pius had proclaimed an amnesty for political prisoners, had modified the Press censorship, had set up a Council of State to advise in the government of the

Papal States. At once he became the idol of all the Liberals in Italy. Metternich was dismayed. 'We were prepared for everything,' he said, 'except a Liberal Pope. Now we have got one, there is no telling what may happen.'

As a result of this impetus revolutionary movements had begun in Italy even before the great news came from Paris. In January 1848 the 'tobacco riots' had taken place in Milan; the Milanese, who had boycotted tobacco, which was an Austrian State monopoly, were roused to fury by the insolence of the Austrian soldiers, who went about the streets puffing tobacco smoke in their faces; and the riots were only put down with considerable loss of life. In the same month Sicily had risen in rebellion against Ferdinand II, and that terrified ruler had hastily granted a constitution. In February his example was followed by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Charles Albert of Sardinia.

Harvest. With the Pope proclaiming Liberal sentiments, and the most reactionary rulers granting free constitutions, Italy was ripe for a general conflagration. And now the news came that Vienna itself had risen, that Metternich was a fugitive and the hated despotism at an end.

Immediately Milan and Venice rose to throw off the Austrian yoke. Venice proclaimed itself a republic under the leadership of Daniel Manin, and Milan, after five days' fierce street-fighting, drove out the Austrian garrison. Modena and Parma chased out their Austrian rulers and united themselves by plebiscite to Piedmont. And on March 23rd Charles Albert threw in his lot with the revolution and declared war on Austria.

It seemed to the excited patriots that the day of deliverance and of Italian unity was at hand. But their enthusiasm was premature. The situation was much less promising than it appeared. Firstly, the Pope, never a Liberal at heart, had already begun to draw back. He had not intended to start a revolution; 'with the best intentions, he struck a match to light a candle, and

discovered to his horror that he was in a powder magazine.' In April he refused to participate in the war against Austria; and he was soon to come out openly against the revolution. Secondly, the Austrian power was not yet broken. The Austrian commander, Radetsky, was a resolute and capable general, and he had retreated to the Quadrilateral, the impregnable chain of fortresses (Mantua, Verona, Peschiera and Legnano) which guarded the route from Austria to Italy. The Sardinian king was no match for him, either in generalship or in the quality of his troops. Thirdly, the revolution in Southern Italy was rapidly brought to an end. The Sicilian proclamation of independence had roused Neapolitan national feeling in support of their king, and by May Ferdinand was strong enough to overthrow the constitution and to restore his absolute authority.

Under these circumstances the cause of the revolution rapidly declined. In July 1848 Radetsky, advancing from his stronghold, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sardinian forces at Custozza. Charles Albert was compelled to conclude an armistice, and to evacuate Lombardy and Venetia; and Radetsky re-entered Milan. The armistice was a great blow to Liberal hopes; Charles Albert lost his popularity and ceased to be leader of the revolution; and the movement became more openly republican. 'The war of the Kings,' said Mazzini, 'is over. That of the people will now begin.'

It was in Rome that the new spirit showed itself. There the now wildly alarmed Pius IX had attempted to ride the revolutionary storm. He had granted a constitution and appointed a Liberal minister named Rossi. But in November Rossi was assassinated. Pius IX gave it up, fled to Gaeta and placed himself under the protection of Ferdinand of Naples. Henceforth he was to be counted among the enemies of the revolution. Rome, therefore, abolished the temporal power of the Pope and established a republic under the rule of Mazzini.

Winter. The proclamation of the Roman Republic was

a last gesture of defiance. But already the forces of reaction were gathering strength. In March 1849 Charles Albert bravely renewed the war against Austria; but the odds were now far more heavily against him than they had been the previous year. The Imperial government was once more master in its own house, and Radetsky had received reinforcements. At Novara the Sardinians met with complete and crushing defeat. 'All is lost, even honour!' cried Charles Albert, and the following day he abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel. The new king was forced to make peace with Austria. But even in the hour of defeat he refused to abandon the constitution. 'What my father has sworn to,' he said, 'I will maintain.' That courageous refusal was later to earn him the crown of a united Italy. But for the moment the prospect seemed hopeless. Austria was once more master of Lombardy; the old rulers were restored in the duchies of Parma and Modena; only Rome and Venice still held out. And against those two last outposts of freedom the armies of reaction were moving in irresistible strength. Rome was besieged by a strong French force under Oudinot, sent by Louis Napoleon as a gesture to placate his Catholic subjects. The Republic, defended by Garibaldi and his volunteer following, put up a magnificent defence, and held out to the last limit of endurance. But at last, on June 30th, 1849, it was forced to surrender. Garibaldi barely escaped with his life, and went into exile; and the despotic rule of the now thoroughly reactionary Pope was restored. Venice held out against the Austrians a little longer. But in August cholera, famine and bombardment reduced it to submission; and with its fall the heroic struggle for liberty came to an end.

Once more, in the autumn of 1849, reaction reigned triumphant throughout Italy, from the savage reprisals of Ferdinand in Naples to the iron rule of Austria in the north. But the struggle had not been in vain; the great events of '48 and the heroic resistance of '49 had given to Italy a new unity and a new courage, and had enriched

her with undying memories; and one at least of her statesmen had learned the lesson that when the struggle against Austrian domination should be renewed, it must be with the aid of an ally strong enough to match the military strength of Vienna. That statesman was Cavour.

TIME CHART OF THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

1848	GERMANY	AUSTRIA	ITALY
1849	<p>Mar. 18. Rising in Berlin.</p> <p>May 18. Frankfurt Parliament meets.</p> <p>Apr. 3. Frederick William refuses Imperial Crown.</p> <p>June 18. Frankfurt Parliament dissolved.</p>	<p>Mar. 3. Kossuth's speech. 13. Rising in Vienna. 15. 'March Laws.'</p> <p>May 15. Emperor flies from Vienna.</p> <p>June 18. Windischgrätz conquers Prague.</p> <p>Oct. 31. Windischgrätz conquers Vienna.</p> <p>Dec. 2. Accession of Francis Joseph.</p> <p>Apr. 14. Hungarian Republic.</p> <p>June. Russians invade Hungary.</p> <p>Aug. 13. Surrender at Vilagos.</p>	<p>Jan. Tobacco riots in Milan. Revolutions in Sicily.</p> <p>Feb. Constitutions in Tuscany and Piedmont.</p> <p>Mar. 18. Rising in Milan. 22. Rising in Venice. 23. Charles Albert declares war.</p> <p>May 15. Ferdinand's <i>coup d'état</i> in Naples.</p> <p>July 25. Custoza. Aug. 9. Armistice. Nov. 15. Murder of Rossi in Rome.</p> <p>Feb. 9. Roman Republic. Mar. 23. Novara.</p> <p>July 3. French conquer Rome. Aug. 28. Austrians conquer Venice.</p>

PART III

THE AGE OF NATIONALISM (1848-70)

CHAPTER XIII

THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

The Eastern Question. It has been wisely said that there has been an Eastern Question ever since the Battle of Marathon. Constantinople, the hub on which the great trade routes to the East converge, the dominant strategic point in the Eastern Mediterranean, the gateway of the Black Sea, the meeting-place of East and West, has never ceased to play a very large part in the affairs of Europe. But the special aspect of the Eastern question which troubled the peace of Europe and exercised the ingenuity of statesmen in modern times began to take shape about the beginning of the nineteenth century. The essential ingredients of the problem were three. The first was the gradual disintegration of the Turkish Empire. Since the great wave of invasion in the fifteenth century, the Turks had never been more than conquerors. They had never learnt to assimilate the Balkan peoples, nor even to govern them effectively. Their rule was an alien domination based upon military force. And during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries even that domination was losing its hold. The Turkish Empire was dying at the centre, dying of corruption, of luxury, of senile decay.

The second factor was the resurgence of the national spirit among the subject peoples of the Balkans—Greeks, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians and others, who, submerged under Turkish rule, had yet retained their racial

individuality, and who now, stirred by the same nationalist aspirations as were rousing the rest of Europe, were beginning to find the rule of masters separated from them by race and religion no longer tolerable.

The third element was the political and economic interests of the Great Powers, which made it impossible for them to ignore any decided alteration in the grouping of forces in Eastern Europe. The Power most directly concerned was Russia. Already, under Catherine II (1763-95), Russia had begun to dream of the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, of a Russian ruler reigning at Constantinople. Apart from these grandiose ambitions, the control of the narrow straits that joined the Black Sea to the Mediterranean was vital to Russian interests; by the Treaty of Kainardji (1774) she had gained control of the northern coast of the Black Sea; by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812) she had acquired Bessarabia and a protectorate over the Danubian principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia). The final step was to dominate Constantinople itself; and this became the main principle of Russian foreign policy in the nineteenth century.

But that ambition could only be achieved at the expense of other Powers. To England also the Eastern Mediterranean was an interest of the utmost importance, both by reason of her extensive trading connections in the Levant, and because the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea formed a possible route to India. Austria also, with her large Slav population and her dependence on the free navigation of the Danube, was strongly opposed to Russian domination in the Balkans. Finally France, seeking to obtain a foothold in the Eastern Mediterranean, and with half an eye on Egypt, was ready to fish in troubled waters for her own advantage. It is evident, therefore, that it was not going to be a simple matter to find a solution to what Lord Morley called 'that shifting, intractable and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests, rival peoples and antagonistic faiths which is veiled under the easy name of the Eastern Question.'

The Greek Rebellion (1821-32). Already, while European statesmen were too occupied with the commotion of the Napoleonic Wars to concern themselves with the Balkans, the revolt of the subject peoples had begun. In 1804 Serbia had broken out into rebellion against the Sultan under the leadership of a resourceful pig-merchant, Kara George; and by 1817 had forced the Sultan to grant her practical independence under the rule of Milosh Obrenovitch. But it was not until 1821, when the Greeks also rebelled, that the Eastern Question in its modern form became a general European concern. That rebellion had been long preparing. For centuries the Greeks had manned the Turkish navy, monopolised Turkish commerce, and provided Constantinople with the brains of its administration. In recent years there had been a great resurrection of the Greek national spirit. It expressed itself in the revival of the Greek language and literature, and in the formation of secret societies like the *Hetairia Philiké* (Association of Friends), a widespread underground conspiracy for the overthrow of Turkish rule. In 1821 the time was ripe. The Sultan was occupied with the suppression of the revolt of one of his powerful vassals, Ali Pasha, the 'Lion of Janina'; and the fact that Capodistrias, himself a Greek, was the Foreign Minister of the Czar suggested a hope of Russian support. In March 1821, therefore, a Greek noble and ex-officer of the Russian army, Prince Alexander Hypsilanti, raised the standard of revolt in Moldavia, counting on help from the Czar. But Alexander denounced the rebellion and refused assistance, and Hypsilanti proved an incapable leader. Within two months the revolt was crushed, and Hypsilanti himself a refugee in Hungary, where he was imprisoned by Metternich.

From Moldavia, however, the rebellion spread to the Greeks of the Morea, who opened the ball briskly by the massacre of 25,000 Turks. The Turks, not to be outdone in frightfulness, retaliated by hanging the Patriarch of Constantinople outside his palace, and by slaughtering

Greeks in Smyrna and Constantinople. A savage conflict ensued in the Morea, in which the Greeks, superior to the Turks in naval power, succeeded in holding their own. A constitution was proclaimed in 1822, and in the following year Canning recognised them as belligerents. So far, the Powers had abstained from active intervention. Alexander I, roused by the murder of the Patriarch of Constantinople, had at first proposed to interfere on the side of the Greeks, but had been dissuaded by Metternich. But European sympathy for the Greek cause was growing. Men who had been brought up on the literature and philosophy of ancient Greece could not look upon the struggle unmoved; and Byron, the most romantic and admired rebel of his day, gave his life for the Greek cause at Missolonghi in 1824. And in the next year the struggle entered a new phase. The Sultan, Mahmud II, called upon the assistance of his powerful viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali. Mehemet's redoubtable son, Ibrahim Pasha, having conquered Crete, landed in the Morea with an Egyptian army and began a savage war of extermination. Within a year he was master of the Morea.

His success made continued non-intervention impossible; and in any case the policy of Russia had undergone a change. Alexander had been succeeded by Nicholas I, a despot who knew his own mind, and who was not to be deterred from the opportunity of a blow at Turkey by the scruples of Metternich. Nicholas prepared for war. Canning, anxious to avert the danger of isolated action by Russia, summoned a conference of the Powers to London, and there it was agreed that the Powers should act together to compel the Sultan to recognise the independence of Greece (1827). The admirals of the English, French and Russian fleets were ordered to prevent supplies from reaching Ibrahim Pasha, and the English admiral, Sir Richard Codrington, blockaded the Turkish fleet in Navarino Bay. A shot from a Turkish vessel precipitated a general battle, and by the end of the day the bay was strewn with the wreckage of the Turkish fleet (October 1827).

The battle decided the independence of Greece. Canning was already dead when the battle took place, and his successor, Wellington, withdrew British support from the Greeks. But the only effect was that Russia went on alone,



THE GREEK REBELLION

declared war on Turkey, and drove the Turkish armies back on Constantinople. The Sultan had no choice but to agree to the Treaty of Adrianople (1829), by which the independence of Greece was recognised. Finally, by a Treaty of 1832, Greek independence was confirmed by the Powers, and the crown of the new kingdom was offered to

Otto of Bavaria. The first big step in the disintegration of the Turkish Empire had been taken.

Mehemet Ali (1831-41). Before the Greek question was finally settled, the Turkish Empire was threatened by danger from another quarter. Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, had been rewarded for his services with the cession of Crete, but he considered the reward inadequate, and he had taken the measure of Turkish weakness and decay. Himself a bold and resolute adventurer, he had already built up a strong power in Egypt, conquered Arabia and the Sudan, and organised a powerful and well-trained army with the assistance of French officers. He now demanded Syria as a further compensation for his efforts. The demand was refused, and in 1831-2 Ibrahim Pasha invaded Syria, captured Acre and Damascus, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish army sent to stop him at Konieh. By the beginning of 1833, Constantinople itself was in danger. Mahmud II, in despair, appealed to the Powers for assistance, but France favoured Mehemet Ali, and England would not act without France. Only Russia was willing to come to his assistance, and to accept Russian aid was to ride on a tiger of extremely questionable intentions. Mahmud, however, had no option but to accept, and a Russian force landed in Asia Minor. At once the Western Powers, alarmed by Russian intervention, brought pressure on the Sultan to give way and to cede Syria to Mehemet Ali. But the price of Russia's assistance had still to be paid, and Mahmud was forced to conclude the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (1833), by which Turkey became the ally of Russia, and agreed to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations except Russia.

The Treaty was a blow not only to the Sultan, who became a dependent of Russia, but also to Palmerston, who saw just that extension of Russian influence which he most dreaded. Palmerston determined to wipe out the treaty at the earliest possible opportunity.

The opportunity came in 1839. Mahmud II, determined to revenge himself on his rebellious vassal and to recover

Syria, reorganised his army with the assistance of a young Prussian officer, later to be famous under the name of von Moltke, and in 1839 launched a campaign for the recovery of Syria. Once more, however, the Turks were utterly routed. At Nessib Ibrahim gained a decisive victory and the Sultan had once more to appeal for help.

This time Palmerston was ready. France was openly backing Mehemet Ali, but the remaining four Powers met in conference at London and drew up a treaty providing for joint action against Mehemet Ali. With the furious protest of France and her subsequent humiliation, we have dealt elsewhere.¹ Having brushed aside French opposition, the Powers proceeded to bring pressure on Mehemet Ali.

A combined English, Austrian and Turkish fleet captured Acre and forced the Egyptians to evacuate Syria. Mehemet Ali submitted, and was confirmed in the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt. Syria was restored to the Sultan, and the Turkish Empire was saved for the second time. Finally, by the Straits Convention of 1841, Palmerston achieved his aim of wiping out the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. The Convention provided that the Dardanelles should be closed to the warships of all nations. The agreement was a triumph for Palmerston and a severe set-back to Russian ambitions. But the conflict between British and Russian interests had openly appeared—the stage was set for the tragedy of the Crimean War.

Causes of the Crimean War. The war into which Europe blundered in the spring of 1854 was the outcome of three factors: the antagonism between Great Britain and Russia in the Near East, the personal ambition of Napoleon III, and the determination of the Czar to establish his control over the Turkish Empire. It will be convenient to deal with each of these factors in turn.

The Anglo-Russian conflict, which had been revealed by the Mehemet Ali episode, was apparently laid to rest by the Convention of 1841. But during the following twelve years the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion in England

¹ See page 87.

grew and deepened. The British view was clearly expressed by Lord John Russell: 'If we do not stop them on the Danube, we shall have to stop them on the Indus;' and its most practical exponent was Palmerston. Nor did the attitude of Nicholas do anything to allay suspicion. In a visit to England in 1844 he approached Lord Aberdeen, then Foreign Minister, on the subject of the decline of Turkey, and suggested that in the event of a break-up of the Empire, it would be well if England and Russia had agreed on the measures to be adopted. The suggestion met with a cold reception. Early in 1853 he raised the subject again with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at St Petersburg, and proposed openly that the subject races of the Balkans should become independent under Russian protection, while England should take Egypt and Crete. 'We have on our hands,' he said, 'a very sick man. It will be a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made.' But England was not so sure that the disease was fatal. Had not Palmerston already declared that 'all that we hear about the decay of the Turkish Empire and its being a dead body or a sapless trunk and so forth, is pure and unadulterated nonsense'? England was determined that the Sick Man should be kept alive, and her ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, a resolute opponent of Russia, was prepared to carry out that policy, even if it meant war. Nicholas, on the other hand, misled by the personal friendliness of Lord Aberdeen and by the pacific temper of the Aberdeen Government, was convinced that England would not resort to arms; and that conviction caused him to commit himself more deeply than he would otherwise have done.

If the disposition of the English Government was peaceful, that of the ruler of France was very much the reverse. Napoleon III, newly installed as Emperor, welcomed war as an opportunity of bringing to France that glory which would consolidate his *régime*. He had a personal antipathy

to Nicholas on account of the Czar's refusal to treat him as a legitimate monarch; Nicholas addressed him as 'mon ami' instead of the usual 'mon frère.' And in the question of the 'Holy Places' he saw an opportunity to put himself right with French clerical opinion. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehehem had, by a treaty of 1740, been committed to the care of French Catholic priests. But their guardianship had lapsed, and they had been succeeded by monks of the Greek Orthodox Church. Now, in 1852, Napoleon revived the claim, and demanded that the Holy Places should be restored to the French. The demand was conceded; but Nicholas, the protector of the Greek Orthodox Church, refused to allow any diminution of the rights of his *protégés*, and he saw in this trivial quarrel an opportunity to vindicate his authority over the Sultan.

It was the intransigent attitude adopted by the Czar towards Turkey that finally precipitated a crisis. In March 1853 he sent an overbearing soldier, Prince Menshikov, to Constantinople, to present an ultimatum. Menshikov demanded first, that the Holy Places should be restored to the Greek Church, and secondly, that the right of Russia to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan should be recognised. The first point the Sultan was willing to concede, but the second represented the abnegation of his sovereignty, and, prompted by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, he refused the demand. In May Menshikov left Constantinople, and in June Russian troops invaded the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

Even yet, war was not inevitable. In August the Powers met at Vienna, and drew up the Vienna Note, proposing a settlement. But the terms of the Note were humiliating to Turkey, and the Sultan refused to accept it. Henceforth compromise was impossible, and in October the Sultan declared war on Russia. In order to protect Turkey, a British and French fleet was sent to the Bosphorus, and while it was at Constantinople, the Turkish fleet was annihilated by the Russians at the 'massacre' of Sinope

(November 30th). 'Thank God!' said Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, 'that's war!' It was. In January 1854 the Allied fleet entered the Black Sea, and in March England and France declared war on Russia.

The Crimean War. The immediate objective of the Allies at the opening of the campaign was the expulsion of the Russians from the Danubian principalities. This



THE CRIMEAN WAR

was soon effected. An allied army landed at Varna and marched to the relief of Silistria, which was besieged by the Russians. Meanwhile Austria was demanding the evacuation of the Principalities and threatening the Russian flank. Faced with this double danger, the Russians retired, and by August had withdrawn from the Principalities altogether. The first object of the war was now achieved. But Napoleon was athirst for glory, and England welcomed the opportunity of striking a decisive blow at Russian sea-power. It was decided to go on, and to attack the great Russian naval base of Sebastopol in the Crimea.

In September a combined English and French force landed at Eupatoria, under the command of Lord Raglan and Marshal St Arnaud. A Russian force sent to stop them was driven back at the River Alma, and the way to Sebastopol lay open. A rapid assault would have taken the city. But the Allies decided to march round to establish a base at Balaclava and to attack from the south. The delay gave the Russians time to strengthen their defences under the direction of the German engineer Todleben; and when the attack was finally launched in October, Sebastopol proved impregnable. The campaign therefore developed into a protracted siege. Two attempts made by Menshikov to dislodge the Allies from their base were repulsed at Balaclava (October) and at Inkermann (November). But a storm wrecked the Allied transports and the troops were left without adequate supplies to endure the dreadful hardships of a Russian winter; hardships only mitigated by the heroic work of Florence Nightingale. Throughout that winter exposure and disease took a dreadful toll of English lives.

With the opening of the year 1855, however, the prospects of the Allies began to improve. In January the Sardinian minister, Cavour, in the hope of obtaining future help from the Western Powers, joined the Alliance; and a small but well-equipped Piedmontese army was sent shortly after to Sebastopol. In March Nicholas I died, worn out by anxiety and chagrin at the failure of his troops. In August a last attempt of the Russians to relieve Sebastopol was defeated at the battle of the Tchernaya. Finally, in September, the Allies launched a general assault on the fortresses defending the city. The British attack on the Redan was repulsed, but the French captured the Malakoff; and the next day the Allies entered Sebastopol. With the capture of the fortress of Kars in Armenia by the Russians in November the war came to an end. All parties were now ready for peace and the final treaty was signed at Paris on March 30th, 1856. The terms of the Treaty of Paris were as follows:

(1) Turkey was admitted to the Concert of Europe, and her integrity was guaranteed by the Powers. Russia abandoned her claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan, while he in return promised to improve their condition.

(2) The Black Sea was declared neutral water, and the merchant vessels of all nations were to be admitted. No country was to build arsenals or to keep warships there.

(3) The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be freed from Russian control and were to be independent states under the general suzerainty of Turkey.

(4) The navigation of the Danube was to be open to the ships of all nations.

(5) The independence of Serbia was guaranteed.

To this Treaty was added a Declaration defining maritime law, and providing that privateering should be abolished, that neutral ships were to be immune from seizure, and that blockades must be effectively maintained in order to be recognised.

Results of the Crimean War. As far as the immediate objects of the participants were concerned, the war may be said to have achieved very little. The Turkish Empire, it is true, gained a new lease of life; but the inevitable disintegration of the Empire went on, and the Treaty of Berlin (1878) was to mark a further step in that direction. The promise made by the Sultan of better treatment for his Christian subjects was soon to be revealed as valueless by the Bulgarian atrocities. The neutrality of the Black Sea would be evaded by Russia at the earliest possible opportunity; and that opportunity arose when France was embroiled in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. But the war did bring about important changes in the equilibrium of European politics. Napoleon III profited by a considerable increase in prestige and in power, and became

for a time the dominant figure in the political world. The Russian Government was impelled by its defeat to



THE BALKANS: TREATY OF PARIS, 1856

drastic internal reform; the abolition of serfdom and the setting up of local government councils are two of the important changes made by Nicholas' successor, Alexander II.

For Austria the war had serious, though indirect, consequences. She had, in Schwarzenberg's phrase, 'astonished Europe by her ingratitude'; her refusal to repay the service which Russia had rendered in 1849 cost her the support of her most powerful ally; while the Western Powers equally were alienated by Austria's shirking of a joint responsibility. As a result, she was to find herself without allies when her hour of crisis came. Cavour, on the other hand, reaped the reward of his sagacity by gaining the benevolent neutrality of England and the active assistance of France in the coming struggle for Italian independence.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Italy before 1850. We have already seen how the spirit of nationality, combined with a desire for freedom and for better government, had kept Italy in a state of continual unrest since the Vienna settlement. The foundation had been laid when Napoleon awoke Italy from its long sleep, and gave it unity and efficient government. The attempt of Metternich at Vienna to erase Napoleon's work, and to reduce Italy once more to a 'geographical expression,' had succeeded only superficially: beneath the surface patriotism and fierce resentment against the rule of debased Bourbons, reactionary cardinals and Austrian puppet dukes had smouldered and spread. The revolts of 1820-1 in Naples and Piedmont, and those of 1830 in Central Italy, had been little more than spasmodic and ill-organised protests against misrule, and had been easily suppressed by the military strength of Austria. But the work had gone on; Mazzini's formation of the 'Society of Young Italy' and his stirring appeals to Italian patriotism had strengthened and deepened the determination to overthrow tyranny and alien rule. In 1848 it had seemed for a time that the realisation of his ideals was within sight; but once more the might of Austria had proved too great, and the hopes of the Liberals had perished in an orgy of reaction and persecution.

Yet that movement, as we have observed, had not been without effect. The common struggle had united Italians of all political creeds; and the common defeat had led them to realise the necessity of concentrating on one object—the establishment of Piedmontese supremacy. The House of Savoy had, as it were, won its spurs. The

heroic struggle of Charles Albert and the refusal of young Victor Emmanuel to abandon his constitution had earned for Piedmont the allegiance of all patriots. Even Gioberti, the leading Papalist writer, had abandoned his opinions and declared for the rule of Piedmont. Finally, the reaction of 1849 had roused the conscience of Western Europe to the sufferings of Italy; Gladstone, travelling in Naples in 1851, had seen the prisons in which Liberal leaders were tortured, and had denounced the Bourbon rule as 'the negation of God erected into a system of government.' It only remained for the astute statesmanship of Cavour and the bright sword of Garibaldi to cleave a way through all obstacles, and to create an Italy united and free.

Cavour and Piedmont 1852-9. Count Camillo di Cavour was the son of a small Piedmontese noble, and was destined for the usual military career; but his Liberal opinions made the life of an officer intolerable, and he abandoned the army to devote himself to the improvement of the family estates, and to foreign travel. He came to England, studied English institutions and became a passionate adherent of English Liberal philosophy. As editor of a patriotic paper, *Il Risorgimento*, and as a member of the Piedmontese Parliament, he enthusiastically supported the efforts of 1848, and shared in the disillusion that followed. Finally, in 1852, he became Victor Emmanuel's chief minister, and henceforth devoted himself entirely to the achievement of Italian national unity. The aims which he set before himself were two: first, to strengthen and develop the resources of Piedmont; second, to obtain an ally strong enough to enable him to drive the Austrians out of Italy.

The modernisation of Piedmont was accomplished between 1852 and 1856. The construction of railways was undertaken; commercial treaties were concluded with other states, and the industry and agriculture of the country developed; the excessive power of the Church was curbed—many monasteries, for instance, were suppressed—and the army was increased and reorganised.

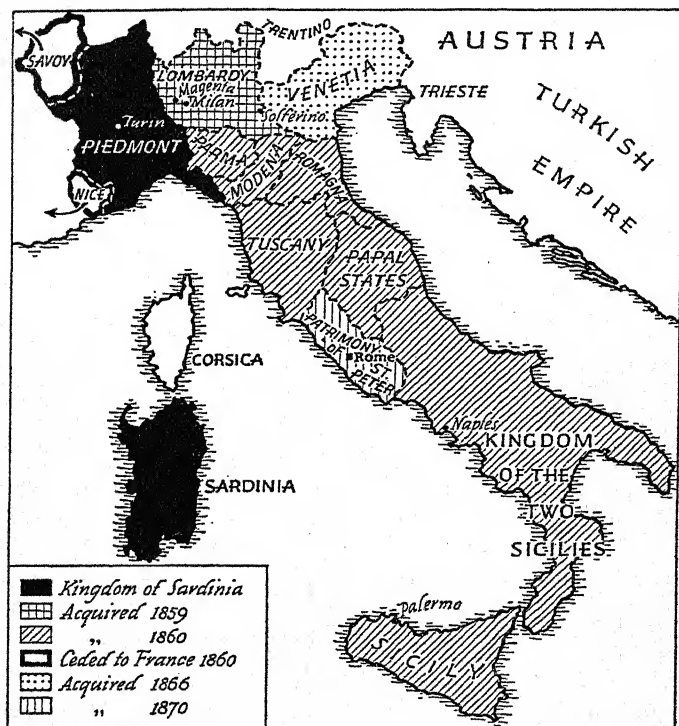
The second part of the programme—the acquisition of a foreign ally—proved more difficult. England was friendly, but unwilling to do anything effective; the only hope was Napoleon III, who had dabbled in Italian revolutionary plots in his youth, and who, as the champion of nationalism, might be expected to favour the Italian cause. But Napoleon had clerical opinion in France to consider; and the clericals would strongly resent any attack upon the temporal power of the Pope. It was in the hope of a French alliance that Cavour, in the teeth of bitter opposition at home, sent a Piedmontese army to the Crimea. Events proved him right; at the battle of the Tchernaya the Piedmontese proved themselves a brave and disciplined force; and his intervention entitled Cavour to a place at the Peace Congress at Paris, where he was able to set forth his cause before the assembled statesmen of Europe. In January 1858 an event took place which might well have ruined his work, but which actually had the opposite effect: an Italian fanatic named Orsini threw a bomb at Napoleon's carriage as he was going to the opera, and the Emperor narrowly escaped death. Orsini was tried and condemned to death; but from his cell he wrote a letter justifying his action on the ground that Napoleon had failed to do anything for Italy. The Emperor, moved either by conscience or by fear for his skin, decided that something must be done. The outcome was an interview between Napoleon and Cavour at Plombières, a little French spa in the Vosges where Napoleon was on holiday in July 1858. The interview was entirely secret, and, resembled a conspiracy rather than a diplomatic negotiation. But there emerged from it a definite bargain: Napoleon agreed to assist Piedmont to drive the Austrians entirely out of Italy, on condition that Austria was made to appear the aggressor in the war. All Northern Italy was to be united under Piedmont. In return, the Emperor was to be given Savoy and Nice, and his disreputable cousin 'Plon-Plon' (Prince Napoleon) was to marry Victor Emmanuel's daughter.

The War of Liberation. Having obtained his ally, it only remained for Cavour to drive Austria into war. On New Year's Day 1859 Napoleon III astonished Europe by regretting to the Austrian Ambassador that his relations with the Austrian Emperor were not as good as they had been; and shortly after Victor Emmanuel flung down a challenge by a speech to his Parliament, in which he declared that he was 'not insensible to the cry of anguish that reached him from many parts of Italy.' But Austria hung back, Napoleon wavered, and England and Russia proposed a conference to settle the question peacefully. At last, when Cavour was almost in despair, Austria played into his hands by sending an ultimatum demanding the immediate disarmament of Piedmont. This Cavour could justifiably refuse. 'The die is cast,' he said, 'and we have made history.'

In April 1859 the Austrians invaded Piedmont and the war began. At first the military strength of Austria was greatly superior, and a rapid blow would have ended the campaign. But the Austrian general, Count Giulaiy, had no qualifications as a general except ancient lineage and Court favour; and he wasted valuable time while French troops were pouring over the Alps. On June 4th the first big battle of the campaign took place at Magenta. The Austrians were overwhelmingly defeated, and were forced to evacuate Lombardy and to fall back on the Quadrilateral; and the allies entered Milan in triumph. At once the Duchies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany rose and drove out their rulers, and with the Romagna¹ voted for union with Piedmont. Austria made a great effort to recover the lost ground; the Emperor Francis Joseph took over the command in person, and a second great battle took place at Solferino on June 24th. But again the allies were victorious; and the conquest of Venetia also seemed inevitable. At this point Napoleon changed his mind. He lacked the iron nerves of his great uncle, and the carnage of Solferino had sickened him; he realised that the

¹ The northern portion of the Papal States.

Austrians were not yet broken, and that the Quadrilateral was likely to prove a very serious obstacle; he was beginning to fear that the Italian nationalist movement was getting beyond his control, and that a powerful new state might



THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

come into being on his frontier—the last thing he wanted; finally, he had heard from the Empress that Prussia was mobilising her army with the possible intention of coming to Austria's aid. He therefore decided to desert his ally and to make peace with Austria.

Villafranca. The two Emperors met and arranged an

armistice at Villafranca (July 9th, 1859). Austria was to hand over Lombardy to Piedmont, but Venetia was to remain in Austrian hands, and the old rulers were to be restored in the Duchies; and Italy was to be united in a federation under the Pope. These terms were embodied in the Treaty of Zurich in November.

To Cavour the news of the armistice came as a terrible blow. All hopes of a united Kingdom of Italy seemed to have perished. For the first time Cavour lost his capacity for clear judgment, and proposed to continue the war alone; and when Victor Emmanuel wisely refused, he resigned. Yet the events of the next few months showed him that the situation was not as hopeless as it appeared. The Treaty of Zurich was in fact never put into force. The Duchies and the Romagna refused to receive their rulers back again, and there was no provision in the Treaty for compelling them to do so. Napoleon had had to forgo his claim to Savoy and Nice after Villafranca; but now, if he were offered them again, he might be willing to connive at the annexation of the Duchies and Romagna to Piedmont.

In January 1860 Cavour returned to power, and the bargain with Napoleon was struck. A plebiscite was held; and Parma, Modena, Tuscany and the Romagna voted for union with Piedmont. Shortly after, Savoy and Nice voted by a suspiciously large majority for incorporation in France. The bargain lost Napoleon whatever claims he had on the gratitude of Italians and earned for Cavour the hatred of Garibaldi, who never forgave the man who had sold his birthplace. But it marked the first great step in the unification of Italy. Victor Emmanuel was now ruler of all Northern Italy except Venice. In the south there remained the Papal States and the kingdom of Naples. The establishment of Piedmontese rule over these territories was the result not of skilful diplomacy and cautious planning, but of high adventure and reckless daring.

Garibaldi and the Thousand. The Kingdom of Naples was at this time under the rule of the third of the restored

Bourbon kings—Francis II ('Bombino')—who had succeeded in 1859, and who, while he never reached the level of cruelty and viciousness attained by his father, the infamous 'Bomba,' was yet feeble, incapable and unpopular. This unpopularity, combined with the stirring influence of events in the North, produced a rebellion in Sicily early in 1860; and the rebels called to their aid Garibaldi, who had already made himself a national hero by his magnificent defence of the Roman Republic in 1849, and by his brilliant guerrilla campaign in the War of Liberation. The great leader, half-brigand and half-saint, did not hesitate. Volunteers were enrolled and an expedition was hastily and secretly prepared at Genoa. Cavour, while officially entirely unaware of these preparations, secretly aided them by every means in his power. On May 5th, 1860, Garibaldi and his 1136 volunteers, clad in the red shirts which were to become famous throughout Europe, set out from Genoa in two leaky vessels on the fantastic enterprise of conquering an island garrisoned by 24,000 regular troops. On May 11th the expedition landed at Marsala, and within a few days Garibaldi defeated the first force sent against him at Calatafimi. From there he marched straight on Palermo, the capital of Sicily. The capture of Palermo was the master-stroke of his career. With his already depleted thousand and a rabble of Sicilian peasants, he fought his way into the city and forced the garrison of 20,000 to surrender and retire. By the end of July the last Neapolitan troops had been driven out, and Garibaldi was master of Sicily.

In August he crossed the Straits of Messina and attacked the state of Naples itself. Francis, doubtful of the loyalty alike of his ministers and of his troops, abandoned the capital and fell back to Gaeta to make a last stand on the River Volturno, and Garibaldi's march to Naples was a triumphal progress. On September 7th he entered the city unresisted. At this point Cavour decided to take a hand. So far all had gone according to his wishes. But it was by no means certain that Garibaldi, who was a disciple

of the republican Mazzini, would be willing to hand over his conquests to Victor Emmanuel; and above all Cavour feared that the victorious general, whose political insight was far inferior to his military capacity, would march on to Rome itself and so bring down the wrath of Catholic Europe. Under these circumstances he urged the King to lead the Piedmontese army down through the Papal States to Naples. In September Victor Emmanuel routed the Papal troops at Castelfidardo, and took over the Papal States, leaving the Pope in undisturbed possession of Rome. Garibaldi, meanwhile, was held up by the Neapolitan force on the Volturno, and by the time that he had broken their resistance, Victor Emmanuel had crossed the frontier. In October the two leaders met and Garibaldi laid his conquests at the feet of the new King of Italy. The general himself refused all honours and rewards, and retired with a bag of seed-corn to his island home of Capraera.

In February 1861 the first Italian parliament met at Turin, and Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy. Cavour's work was done and within a few months the creator of Italian unity was dead.

Rome and Venice. For the rounding off of the Italian Kingdom the Government was forced to wait until events elsewhere in Europe presented a favourable opportunity. The first of these occasions arose with the Seven Weeks' War between Austria and Prussia in 1866. Bismarck offered Venetia to Italy in return for her assistance in his attack on Austria. In the war itself the Italian troops suffered severe defeat at the hands of the Austrians, but the immobilising of a large Austrian force in Italy made the Prussian victory easier; and Italy gained her reward at the Treaty of Prague, when Venetia was joined to the new Kingdom. For Rome also the Italians had to thank Bismarck. The maintenance of a French garrison in Rome for the protection of the Pope was one of the devices by which Napoleon III sought to conciliate Catholic opinion; and a rash attempt made by Garibaldi to capture

the city in 1867 was easily defeated by the French troops. But in 1870 France also went down before the conquering Prussians, and the withdrawal of the French garrison from Rome enabled the Italian Government to take forcible possession. The Popes refused to recognise the title of the Government, and remained prisoners in the Vatican until the long quarrel was ended by an agreement with Mussolini in 1929. But the acquisition of the Eternal City as the centre of the new kingdom marks the completion of the building of modern Italy.

CHAPTER XV

THE UNION OF GERMANY

I. PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

Germany after 1848. In Germany, no less than in Italy, the failure of the movement of 1848 had been followed by a period of disillusionment and of apathy. The ignominious collapse of the Frankfort Parliament and the humiliation of Prussia at Olmütz in 1850 had seemed to mark the end of the hope of a strong and united Germany. Yet here also the situation was not as hopeless as it appeared. On the one hand, German national sentiment was growing ever stronger; the lesson of German weakness was driven home by the growing predominance of France after the Crimean War and by the creation of a united Italy; in the universities and among the writers and thinkers of the time there was a passionate desire to see Germany take once more the dominant place which she had once occupied among the peoples of Europe. And on the other, the achievement of political unity was gradually being prepared by the establishment of economic unity—by the consolidation of the *Zollverein* (Customs Union), which had been started by Prussia in 1818 in order to link up her scattered dominions, and which had extended bit by bit, until by 1853 it included all the German States except Austria, which was rigidly excluded.

Germany was ready for unity; what was needed was a statesman in Prussia strong enough and able enough to overthrow Austrian supremacy and to make Prussia once more the centre of nationalist hopes and aspirations. Such a statesman appeared in 1862.

The Coming of Bismarck. In 1858 the mind of Frederick William IV finally gave way and his brother William

became Regent, and then, in 1861, King of Prussia. William I was a complete contrast to his predecessor; there was no weakness, no hesitation, no cloudy sentimentality here, but a strong will, a rooted dislike for modern Liberal ideas and a devout belief in the army as the finest expression of the Prussian spirit. The first task which he set before himself was the strengthening of that army. To his mind the humiliation of Olmütz had been a sharp reminder of the danger of military weakness, and now, with the aid of his great war minister, von Roon, he drew up a plan of reform.

Since the reforms of Scharnhorst during the Napoleonic War, the population of Prussia had been liable to compulsory military service. William proposed to increase that service to seven years, three with the colours and four with the reserve, and to create forty-nine new regiments. These proposals involved a considerable increase in expenditure, and the increase was provided for in the Budget which was laid before the Prussian Parliament. But the Liberals were in a majority in the Parliament, and they refused to pass the Budget. William I was faced with a crucial situation. To surrender meant the end of the Prussian monarchy as he understood it, but his ministers would not carry on in the teeth of Parliamentary opposition. He contemplated abdication, but von Roon persuaded him to summon to his assistance the one man in Prussia who was capable of standing up to and mastering the Parliament, Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was a typical member of the 'Junker' aristocracy—the tough, hard-drinking, hard-fighting squires who dominated the Prussian countryside and officered the Prussian army. But a Junker with brains. He had already won a reputation as the Prussian representative at the Frankfort Diet (1851-8) and as the Prussian ambassador at St Petersburg and Paris. He was well-known as the ultra-Conservative, as the arch-enemy of Liberalism and democracy. Now, called to the King's aid, he persuaded William to tear up his deed of abdication and to prepare for a fight to the death.

The Policy of Bismarck. The immediate question with which Bismarck was called upon to deal was the question of the supremacy of King or of Parliament in Prussia. Was Prussia to remain true to her old tradition of military despotism, or was she to set out along the road of Liberal democracy which the states of Western Europe were following? But underlying that question was the far more important one of the future of Germany. Bismarck was quite as determined as the most ardent Liberal to see Germany united into a single powerful state; he differed from the Liberals as to the means by which that end was to be attained. They wanted a merging of Prussia into a democratic Liberal Germany; Bismarck was determined that 'Prussians we are, and Prussians we will remain.' The Liberals looked to the Parliamentary methods of 1848 to achieve their aim; Bismarck declared bluntly that 'the great questions of the day are to be solved not by speeches and by majority resolutions, but by blood and iron!' In short, Germany was to be united through submission to Prussia, and the union was to be carried through by military force.

To this aim, to which Bismarck devoted his life, the immediate question of King *versus* Parliament was subordinate. If he could establish Prussian supremacy over Germany, the minister knew that he need fear no further opposition from Prussian Liberals. For the moment, therefore, he continued to govern in defiance of Parliament; and, meanwhile, he prepared steadily for the war with Austria which was necessary if the Hapsburg domination over Germany was to be destroyed, and the supremacy of Prussia established in its place. As far as the military preparations were concerned, he could safely leave those to von Roon and to the brilliant commander-in-chief, von Moltke. His task was to prepare the diplomatic situation, to ensure that when the time came to strike, Austria should find no allies willing to go to her aid.

His first opportunity came in 1863. In that year the Poles broke out in desperate rebellion against the auto-

cratic rule of the Czar. European opinion was on their side. France, England and even Austria appealed to the Czar on their behalf. Prussian Liberal sentiment was strongly in sympathy with the rebellion. But Bismarck saw in the situation a unique opportunity of securing the friendship of Russia. Alone among the statesmen of Europe he assured the Czar of his support; he even massed troops on the Prussian frontier in order to prevent help reaching the Poles. The Czar was grateful. Bismarck had gained his first and most important ally.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question. The next step was to find a pretext for war with Austria. He found this in the crisis which arose in the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in 1863. The Schleswig-Holstein question was proverbially complicated. Palmerston once said that only three people had understood the matter: the Prince Consort, who was dead, a German professor who was in a lunatic asylum, and himself, who had forgotten it. The essential factors of the problem were as follows: the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had for centuries been united in a loose union with the Danish Crown, without ever being incorporated in Denmark. The duchies contained, however, a large German element, and Holstein was a part of the German Confederation. German national sentiment, therefore, strongly resented the subjection of Holstein to Denmark, and during the Revolutions of 1848 the German Diet had attempted to detach it from Denmark, without success.

The matter was further complicated by the fact that the King of Denmark, Frederick VII, had no direct male heir to succeed him, and while the husband of his niece, Christian of Glücksburg, was recognised as the successor to the Danish throne, his title to the duchies was disputed by a rival claimant, the Duke of Augustenburg. The matter had been discussed by a conference of the Powers at London in 1852, and it had been decided that Christian of Glücksburg was to succeed both to the Danish throne and to the duchies, on condition that the separation of Schleswig and

Holstein from Denmark was maintained. Frederick VII died in 1863, and in accordance with the Treaty of London Christian IX became King of Denmark and Duke of Schleswig and Holstein. But immediately on his accession, Christian was induced to carry through a new constitution which would have incorporated Schleswig in Denmark. The German Diet vigorously protested and prepared for war; and the Duke of Augustenburg, son of the late claimant, reasserted his claim to the duchies, with the support of the Diet.

This was the situation which Bismarck proposed to turn to his own advantage. He induced Austria to join with Prussia in intervention on behalf of Augustenburg. An Austro-Prussian army overran Schleswig and Holstein, invaded Denmark and drove back the Danes in defeat. Christian IX was forced to conclude the Treaty of Vienna (1864) by which the duchies were handed over to the joint administration of Austria and Prussia. At this point it was conveniently discovered by Prussian lawyers that Augustenburg's claim was not valid after all; and as Christian had surrendered his title by the Treaty of Vienna, it followed that Austria and Prussia might remain in lawful possession. It only remained for the victors to divide the spoil. By the Convention of Gastein (August 1865) Prussia took Schleswig and Austria Holstein (now sandwiched between Prussian territory). Here was a situation excellently suited for staging a quarrel with Austria. It was time for Bismarck to complete the diplomatic preliminaries and to ensure the isolation of Austria.

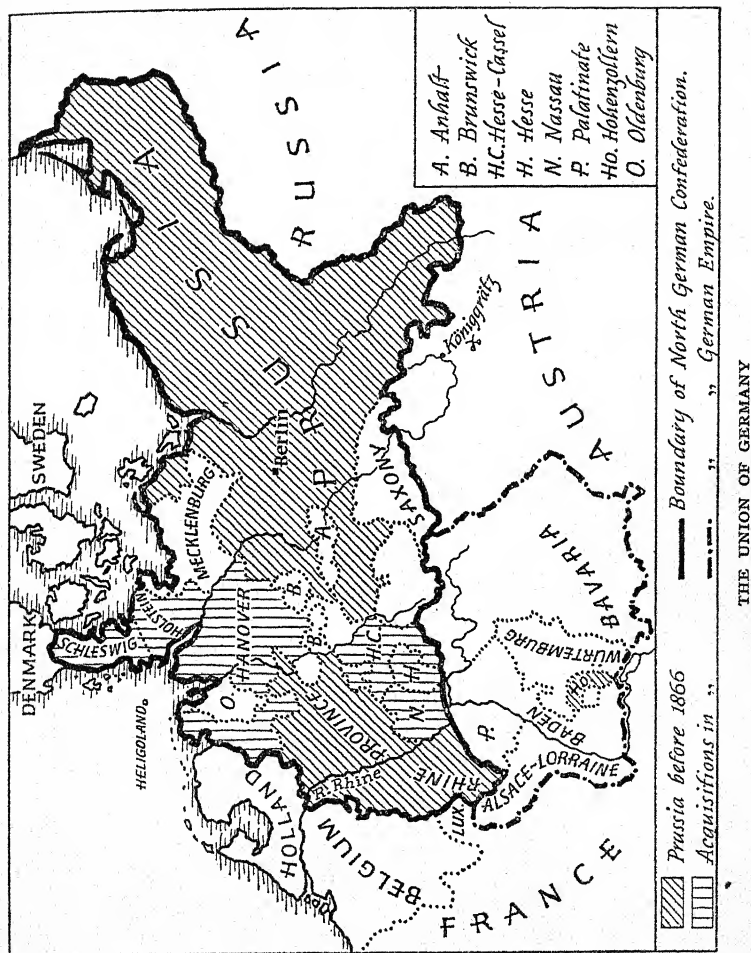
In the moves that followed, Bismarck showed his absolute mastery of diplomatic chess. In October 1865 he met Napoleon III at Biarritz. The details of the interview are unknown, but it is certain that Bismarck succeeded in persuading the French Emperor that, in the event of a war between Prussia and Austria, France should adopt a policy of neutrality. Napoleon was foolish enough to believe that the outcome of a war would be the exhaustion of both parties and an opportunity for France to act as mediator.

It was suggested, further, that in return for his neutrality, Napoleon might expect territorial rewards on the eastern frontier of France. Exactly what form the rewards might take was not stated, but Napoleon swallowed the bait, and Bismarck had no need to fear intervention in that quarter. It only remained to secure the co-operation of the new Kingdom of Italy, which was burning to free Venetia from Austrian domination. In April 1866 Bismarck made a treaty by which, in return for the promise of Venetia, Italy was to join in the attack on Austria, provided that the war took place within three months.

The Seven Weeks' War. All that was needed now was a pretext for war; a pretext that would make Austria appear the aggressor, and would overcome the conscientious scruples of the Prussian King. Bismarck found it, as he had intended to find it, in the Schleswig-Holstein affair. Austria, uneasy in her forceful acquisition of Holstein, had revived the question of Augustenburg's claim to the Duchies. Bismarck treated this as a breach of the Convention of Gastein, and moved Prussian troops into Holstein. He followed this up by putting forward in the Diet an insolent proposal for the reform of the German Constitution by the entire exclusion of Austria. Stung by these provocations, the Emperor had no choice but to declare war; and this he did in June 1866, with the support of most of the lesser German states.

The war which followed astonished Europe. The victory of Austria and the Confederation seemed certain. But in fact the odds were all in Prussia's favour. Austria was in no condition to face a great war. Her finances were in a hopeless state, Hungary was rebellious, the army was badly organised and armed with the out-of-date muzzle-loading gun. The Prussian army had been hammered into a machine-like efficiency by von Roon and was directed by the master-brain of von Moltke, the greatest strategist since Napoleon. Armed with the new rapid-firing needle gun, rapidly mobilised and capably commanded, it was the most formidable army in Europe.

The campaign began with the rapid and overwhelming defeat of the lesser states. Hesse-Cassel, Saxony and Hanover were conquered, the allies were defeated at Langensalza, and the Prussians entered Frankfort. Meanwhile the main Prussian army crossed the Bohemian frontier and marched against the Austrian general. The decisive battle took place at Königgrätz (Sadowa) on July 3rd, and resulted in the utter rout of the Austrians with the loss of 40,000 men. The battle ended the campaign. South of the Alps the war had gone in Austria's favour; the Italians had once more been defeated on the fatal field of Custoza. But after Königgrätz Austria's resistance was broken. Bismarck, on his side, was anxious to make peace as quickly as possible. Having defeated Austria, he had no desire to humiliate her further, or to make of her a dangerous enemy in the future; and he was afraid lest the intervention of Napoleon III should rob him of the fruits of victory. The terms, therefore, of the Treaty of Prague (August 23rd, 1866) were surprisingly lenient. Venetia, of course, had to be ceded to Italy and a moderate war indemnity had to be paid; but otherwise Austria suffered no loss of territory. It was in the reshaping of Germany that the real importance of the treaty lay. Prussia annexed Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau. The old Confederation of 1815 was finally dissolved, to be replaced by the North German Confederation, consisting of all the German States north of the River Main. In this Confederation, as it was shaped by the hands of Bismarck, Prussia was very much the preponderant member. The constitution of the new Germany was an elaborate façade designed to deceive the Liberals and to placate the separatist feelings of the lesser States. There was to be a Parliament (*Reichstag*) elected by universal suffrage and a Council (*Bundesrat*) in which Prussia held only 17 out of 43 seats. But the real power in the new State lay with the President—the King of Prussia—and with his Federal Chancellor, Bismarck. Germany was to be modelled not upon the Liberal democracy



of the West but upon the military despotism of Prussia.

Reorganisation of Austria. In the Hapsburg Empire the war produced changes hardly less radical than those in Germany. 1866 marks the beginning of a new era in Austrian history. Defeat made it necessary to come to terms with the forces of disruption and discontent within the Empire. The policy of fierce repression which followed 1849 had not succeeded in stamping out resistance; it had only driven it underground. In 1861 the Emperor had granted a mild form of parliamentary government; but the Magyars, led by a wise and statesmanlike patriot, Francis Deak, would accept nothing less than independence. The Emperor was now forced to yield to their demands. In 1867 the 'Ausgleich' (Compromise) was arranged: the Empire was in effect split into two separate parts. Francis Joseph was to be Emperor in Austria and King in Hungary, and each had its own parliament and administration. The settlement did nothing to meet the claims of the other subject peoples—Czechs, Poles, Croats, Serbs and Rumanians. The attitude of the Imperial government towards that side of the problem is illustrated by the remark of Count Beust, the head of the Austrian government, to the Hungarian ministers: 'you take care of your barbarians and we will take care of ours.' The failure to meet these demands was to lead to the final collapse and disintegration of the Hapsburg Empire in the Great War. But for the moment the Dual Monarchy took on a new lease of life.

In her foreign policy also Austria underwent a change. Henceforth she abandoned the idea of domination in Central Europe and turned her eyes to the East, to the prospect of succeeding to the Turkish Empire in the Balkans. And so began the long rivalry with Russia which was to culminate in the Great War.

CHAPTER XVI

THE UNION OF GERMANY

II. THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

France and Germany. After 1866 war between France and the new German Confederation was inevitable. It lay, as Bismarck said, 'in the logic of history.' On the one hand, France was alarmed by the creation of a strong national state on her Eastern frontier. Marshal Randon's famous phrase expressed the opinion of French statesmen—'it is France that was defeated at Sadowa;' and France was determined to fight rather than allow any further extension of Prussian power. On the other, Bismarck needed the powerful evocation of national sentiment which a successful war against France would bring about in order to induce the southern states—Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden—to surrender their independence and to unite themselves with the North German Confederation. The steps by which Bismarck manœuvred France into declaring war, and at the same time roused German nationalism in support of Prussia, form one of the most brilliant episodes in that amazing career. But before we trace those steps, it is necessary to say something of the fortunes of France under Napoleon III.

The Second Empire. The rule of Napoleon was founded on contradiction. On his accession he had proclaimed: 'l'Empire, c'est la paix!' Yet his position as 'crowned adventurer' and as heir to the Napoleonic tradition necessitated the maintenance of French glory and prestige; and that could only be done through war. At home the same discrepancy is to be found. He was the child of the Revolution, the apostle of the ideals of 1848; but

Bonapartism and Liberalism were uneasy bedfellows, and he was for ever striving to reconcile the French desire for liberty with personal despotism. From the beginning, then, the Emperor's position was unstable and precarious. The end came more quickly because of the defects of Napoleon's own character. He considered himself the 'Man of Destiny'; in reality he was an unpractical dreamer, a restless adventurer ever pursuing chimerical schemes which could only end in disaster.

In foreign affairs the reign opened promisingly. The Crimean War brought to Napoleon the glory he coveted, and after the Treaty of Paris he stood out for a time as the leading actor on the European stage. In Italy also, he achieved at the outset resounding success. The victories of Magenta and Solferino brought back to French arms something of the lustre of the great Napoleon's day, and stirred men's minds with memories of Rivoli and Marengo. But with the year 1860 came the turn of the tide. The armistice of Villafranca made patriotic Italians revile the Emperor's name; and by the acquisition of Savoy and Nice, he forfeited his last claim to Italian gratitude. From that time his foreign policy went on from blunder to blunder. By his unwise intervention on behalf of the Polish rebels in 1863 he gained nothing but the enmity of the Czar and personal humiliation for himself. Even more disastrous was the Mexican expedition. In 1861 Mexico, undergoing one of her periodic revolutions, had suspended payments on her foreign debts. The American Civil War made it impossible for the United States Government to enforce the Monroe doctrine against European intervention in Mexico. Napoleon, therefore, seized his opportunity and persuaded England and Spain to join with him in an expedition for the purpose of compelling the Mexican president, Juarez, to pay his debts. But behind this simple object there lay a grandiose scheme of Napoleon's for conquering Mexico and setting up a French puppet state with the Archduke Maximilian, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph, as its ruler. At first all went well; England

and Spain withdrew from the expedition, but French troops captured Mexico City and Maximilian was proclaimed Emperor. But in 1865 the Civil War ended with the victory of the North, and the American Government warned Napoleon that they would not tolerate further intervention from France. The French army had to be withdrawn, and the pasteboard Empire immediately collapsed. The unfortunate Maximilian was captured at Queretaro, and shot against a wall. It was a blow from which Napoleon's prestige never recovered.

Domestic Policy of Napoleon. At home things were little better. From the beginning the rule of the Emperor had been bitterly opposed by legitimate Royalists, by Liberals like Thiers, Socialists like Louis Blanc, writers like Victor Hugo, who from his exile at Guernsey thundered denunciations against '*Napoléon le Petit*'. And despite all Napoleon's efforts, that opposition steadily increased. He made France prosperous; he negotiated wise commercial treaties with other countries to the benefit of French trade; he had canals and railways built; his prefect, Haussmann, made Paris, with its fine avenues and magnificent ring of boulevards, one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. In spite of all this, a number of powerful and influential critics and opponents of the *régime* were returned to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1860 Napoleon attempted to gain popularity by concessions to Liberalism; censorship of the Press was modified and speeches in the Chamber were allowed to be printed, while the Chamber was given some control over the Budget. But the 1863 elections showed an increase in the number of opposition members. Finally, in 1869, the Emperor went all the way to meet the Liberal demands. He made Emile Ollivier, the leader of the opposition, Prime Minister, and he established a Parliamentary system of government in which the Ministers were to be responsible to the Chamber of Deputies, and the Chamber was to have full control over legislation and finance. But by then it was too late. Already the storm was brewing which was to sweep away the Empire

altogether. It is now time to return to the relations of Napoleon and Bismarck.

Napoleon and Bismarck 1866-7. In the situation in which the Emperor was placed in 1866, with a series of diplomatic reverses to his discredit and a steadily growing opposition at home, his only hope was to achieve some striking success abroad. It was Napoleon's misfortune that he sought to gain that success at the expense of the greatest master of diplomacy that the nineteenth century produced. The first clash came over the question of Napoleon's reward for his neutrality in the Seven Weeks' War. Even before the Peace of Prague had been arranged, Benedetti, the French ambassador to Berlin, was instructed to demand compensation. The first suggestion put forward was that France should have a strip of territory on the left bank of the Rhine, including an area gained by Prussia in 1815, and the Palatinate, which belonged to Bavaria. This suggestion Bismarck bluntly refused, with a sharp reminder that the Prussian army was ready for war, while the French was not; and he took care to let the Southern German States know of this proposed encroachment upon German territory. The result was that the Southern States were driven into a formal alliance with the new Confederation—the one thing France was anxious to avoid. The second project of compensation was no more successful. Napoleon sought Bismarck's consent to his annexation of a piece of Belgian territory. Bismarck not only refused his consent, but kept a copy of the proposal in order to rouse England's hostility against France when the time came. Finally, Napoleon suggested that he should purchase the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, which was ruled by the King of Holland and garrisoned by Prussian troops. As Luxemburg had been a member of the old German Confederation, Bismarck was able to use the protests of enraged German nationalists as a reason for refusal, and all that Napoleon could obtain was the withdrawal of the Prussian garrison. The final outcome, then, of the attempts of Napoleon to cover up the disaster of 1866 was that he was defeated at

every point, while Bismarck was able to pose as the champion and defender of German nationalism.

The Spanish Candidature. All this was bad enough; only one crowning folly remained—to get embroiled in war with the new Germany. This Napoleon achieved in 1870. While Bismarck and Moltke were only too willing to find an excuse for war, it was actually the stupidity of the French Foreign Minister, De Gramont, which precipitated the crisis. The trouble arose out of the question of finding a successor to the disreputable Queen Isabella of Spain, who was dethroned by a military revolution in 1868. The Spanish throne was offered—at Bismarck's instigation—to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a member of the junior branch of the Hohenzollern family and a distant relative of King William of Prussia. On July 3rd, 1870, Leopold announced his acceptance. At once a violent uproar arose in France; the project was denounced as an attempt to revive the Empire of Charles V; and de Gramont declared that France would not tolerate Leopold's accession, even if it meant war. Pressure was brought to bear on Leopold, and on July 12th he withdrew his candidature. So far, it looked like a diplomatic triumph for France. But at this point de Gramont committed an act of incredible folly. Determined to press his advantage home, he instructed Benedetti (the French ambassador) to see King William, who was then taking the waters at Ems, and to demand that the Prussian King should pledge himself never again to authorise the candidature. The demand was inadmissible, and on July 13th William quite politely but firmly refused. On the evening of the 13th Bismarck, who was dining with Moltke and Roon in Berlin, received a telegram from the King describing the interview. Bismarck at once saw his opportunity. By omitting certain passages of the telegram, he made what had been quite a courteous interview appear as an insult on the one side and a rebuff on the other; and this "doctored" account he gave to the Press. On the morning of the 14th the newspapers of each country screamed abuse at the other;

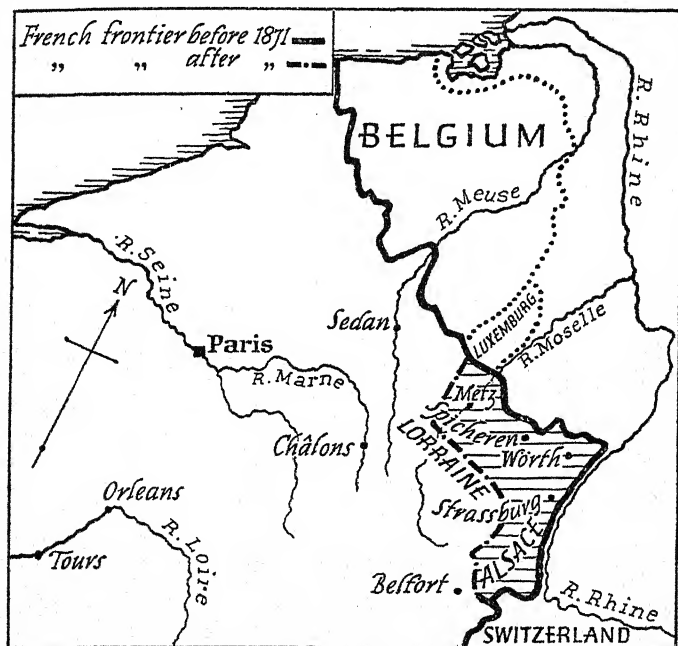
crowds paraded the Paris streets clamouring for war and shouting '*à Berlin!*' In the evening the Imperial Cabinet met and decided on war, and the following day the declaration of war was approved by a huge majority of the Chamber of Deputies.

The Combatants. Ollivier, the French Prime Minister, stated that he entered on the war 'with a light heart.' If so, his optimism had very little justification. An examination of the respective situation of the combatants at the outset of the war reveals an overwhelming German superiority. To begin with, France was diplomatically isolated. The French Government appears to have expected assistance from Austria and Italy; but Austria, even if she had wished to help, was prevented by the threat to her eastern frontier from Bismarck's Russian ally, while Italy was sharply divided from France on account of the refusal of Napoleon to withdraw his garrison from Rome. Bismarck, on the other hand, had made sure of his position. He was firmly allied with the South German states; he had strengthened his friendship with Russia by promising to acquiesce in the tearing-up of the Black Sea clause in the Treaty of Paris; and he ensured English neutrality by giving a copy of Napoleon's Belgian project to *The Times* correspondent. He knew that he had nothing to fear from foreign intervention.

The military inferiority of France was even more striking. The outbreak of war revealed an appalling state of inefficiency and confusion in the French military system. The railways were not prepared for transport; stores and munitions were not ready; conscription had never been properly enforced, and the number of troops mobilised fell far short of expectation; and there was not one really capable commander to take charge. The Prussian military machine, on the other hand, worked with faultless precision. For two years von Moltke had been preparing for this campaign, and when the time came every detail was ready. Within three weeks of the mobilisation order, nearly 500,000 German troops were concentrated on the French

frontier, while the French had only half that number. From the beginning, therefore, the German victory was certain.

The War. The first phase of the war opened with the invasion of Alsace by a German army under the Crown



THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

Prince on August 4th. On the 6th this force came into contact with the French army of Alsace under MacMahon at Wörth. MacMahon's army was utterly routed and fell back in confusion to Châlons. On the same day the army of Lorraine, under Bazaine, had been defeated at Spicheren and driven back towards Metz. On the news of these disasters the Ollivier Ministry fell and a new government was set up in Paris under the aged Count Palikao; but the

real head of the Government was the Empress Eugénie, whose influence did much to complete the ruin of the French fortunes. Napoleon resigned his command to Bazaine, an adventurer with a great reputation, but little ability. And Bazaine, instead of falling back to effect a junction with MacMahon, allowed himself to be surrounded by the German armies. On August 18th his attempt to fight his way out of the trap was defeated with great loss at Gravelotte; and Bazaine, with 170,000 men, the best of the French troops, was shut up in Metz. At this point MacMahon resolved to fall back and defend Paris, to give time for the collecting of reinforcements. But the Empress telegraphed from Paris that the desertion of Bazaine would mean revolution, and the unfortunate commander was forced, against his better judgment, to march northward to the aid of Bazaine. On September 1st his army was caught and surrounded by a greatly superior German force at Sedan. Throughout the day the French were pounded to pieces by the German artillery. MacMahon was wounded, and at the end of the day Napoleon, seeing the hopelessness of further resistance, surrendered with the remainder of his army and became a prisoner.

It was the end of the Third Empire. As soon as the news of Sedan reached Paris, revolution broke out. The Empress and her son fled to England; a Republic was proclaimed and a Government of National Defence was set up under Trochu, with Jules Favre in charge of Foreign Affairs and Gambetta Minister of the Interior, while Thiers set off on a vain mission to seek help from the Governments of Europe. France was not yet beaten; and when it was known that Bismarck was determined upon the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, the Government resolved to fight on to the end. 'Not an inch of our soil will we cede,' proclaimed Favre; 'not a stone of our fortresses.'

The second stage of the war began with the besieging of Paris on September 19th. The city was strongly garrisoned and had provisions for a four-months' siege. Bazaine had still a large army in Metz, and a separate government had

been set up at Tours to raise a new army in the provinces. The fiery young republican leader, Gambetta, escaped from Paris in a balloon on October 7th, and took charge of the provincial government. After heroic efforts an army of nearly 600,000 was raised, and throughout the winter the attempt to relieve Paris went on. But at the end of October Bazaine had treacherously surrendered in Metz, and a strong German force which had been detained there was set free to join in the war in the provinces. One by one the provincial armies were defeated and destroyed. The last hope of relief disappeared and the capital was nearing the end of its resources. At last, on January 28th, 1871, Paris surrendered and the war was at an end.

The Treaty of Frankfort. Immediately on the conclusion of the armistice a summons had been issued for a National Assembly to arrange the final terms of peace. The Assembly met at Bordeaux on February 12th, and elected Thiers as head of the government. For weeks the aged Minister strove to mitigate the severity of the Iron Chancellor's terms. He succeeded in retaining the fortress of Belfort for France and in reducing the war indemnity from six milliards of francs to five milliards. But the terms which were finally embodied in the Treaty of Frankfort (May 10th, 1871) were sufficiently harsh. The treaty provided that France was to cede Alsace and Eastern Lorraine, including Metz and Strasbourg, and was to pay the enormous indemnity of £200,000,000; and that a German army of occupation was to remain in France until the indemnity had been paid. The treaty was intended by Bismarck to cripple France and to prevent future war. It was to act as a powerful stimulus to the French national spirit, and to contribute more than anything else to the overthrow of that Empire which Bismarck had spent his life in building.

By the time that the Treaty of Frankfort was signed, that life-work had already been completed. During the preceding autumn, while the great victories were filling the minds of Germans with patriotic fervour, Bismarck had entered into negotiations with the Southern German princes

for their inclusion in the new Germany. By November the negotiations were completed; they had agreed to surrender their independence and to recognise the Prussian King as their overlord. To persuade the King to exchange his cherished royal title for the vague name of Emperor proved difficult. But this also was achieved. Ten days before the fall of Paris the King of Prussia was crowned 'German Emperor' in the great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, the monument of the glories of the 'Grand Monarque.' In its constitution the new Empire resembled the Confederation of 1866; it had the federal *Bundersrat* and the democratically-elected *Reichstag*. In theory, it was a federation with the Emperor as its President. In practice, it was the fulfilment of Bismarck's ambition—the Prussianisation of Germany.

PART IV

THE AGE OF IMPERIALISM (1870-1914)

CHAPTER XVII

EUROPE AFTER 1870

The New Age. At the point which we have now reached, it is convenient to pause for a moment, to stand back from the detailed study of political events and to take note of some of the more general features and tendencies of the period on which we are entering. The year 1870 forms a very definite and conspicuous landmark in European history; it is the end of an epoch and the beginning of a new age. It is not merely that the Franco-Prussian War marks the end of the long ascendancy of France and the beginning of German domination in Europe; that, as Lord Morley expressed it, 'Europe has lost a mistress and gained a master.' There are other more profound and more far-reaching changes taking place.

So far, we have been mainly concerned with the working out of the influences generated by the French Revolution, with the interplay of the two forces of Liberalism and Nationalism. We have seen how, between 1815 and 1848, the Governments of Europe had attempted to counter those forces, to restore an artificial *status quo*; and how that attempt, weakened by the revolutions of 1830 in France and Belgium, had met with final defeat in the upheavals of 1848. In one country after another, we have observed the rising commercial and industrial middle class disposing the old order, and gaining control over the State; establishing their political ascendancy in France in 1830, in England in 1832; moulding Italy into a united nation in

1860, preparing the way for Bismarck's triumph by the Customs Union in Germany. By 1870 Liberalism, expressed in terms of parliamentary democracy and international freedom of trade, is the dominant political principle of Western Europe; while the claim to national self-determination has already begun to disrupt the Hapsburg Empire and is threatening Turkish rule in Europe with extinction.

Their work, of course, is not yet finished; autocracy remains enthroned at Berlin, at Vienna, at St Petersburg; and there are still subject races—Poles, Czechs, Southern Slavs and others—who will have to wait until 1919 for their deliverance. But it is none the less clear that the forces at work moulding European history after 1870 are of a different character. Briefly, they may be summed up in two words: Imperialism and Socialism. On the one hand, we shall find the great nation-states struggling in fierce competition to establish their influence or their direct control over the less economically advanced portions of the world's surface; jostling each other in Africa, in Central Asia and in the Far East; piling up armaments and engaging in alliances in order to further their purposes the more effectually. On the other, we shall observe within these states a struggle, more or less intense, on the part of the working-class to improve their social conditions and to obtain some measure of political power. Since the origin of both these forces lies in the economic changes which have been taking place under the political surface, it will be necessary to say something about the economic development of Europe in the years before and immediately after 1870.

The Industrialisation of Europe. When the career of the first Napoleon ended at Waterloo, the tremendous transformation of industry, communications and social life which is described as the Industrial Revolution had hardly begun to develop outside England. The inventions of Kay and Arkwright, Hargreaves and Crompton in textiles, the development of coke-smelting of iron ore, the dis-

covery of the 'puddling' process for the manufacture of wrought iron, the great improvements introduced by Wedgwood in the pottery industry—all these had enormously increased the productive capacity of England's industries and had opened the world's markets to her manufactures. The production by James Watt of a workable steam engine had made possible the development of industrial organisation on a very big scale and the concentration of population in great factory towns. Simultaneously the rapid development of internal communications, the building of roads and canals, had facilitated the transport of the new manufactures to the ports; while finally the improvement of shipping had enabled the merchant to distribute these articles over Europe and the New World. Thus in the period following the end of the Napoleonic Wars England was able to establish an unrivalled commercial and industrial ascendancy in the world.

But in the last half of the nineteenth century the situation was entirely changed. One by one the countries of Western Europe learned their lesson from England, modernised their industries, improved their communications, went in for large-scale production. The symbol, and to some extent the cause, of this transformation was the development of railways. Here also England took the lead; our first railway—from Stockton to Darlington—was opened in 1825; and the construction of the Liverpool-Manchester railway in 1830 marks the beginning of a hectic period of railway-building. But Europe was not long in following our example. In Belgium railway construction began as early as 1834. In France the nine great main lines were planned in 1842 and completed in the next fifteen years; while by 1850 Germany had nearly 4000 miles of railroad.

Aided by the improvement of internal communications, industrialisation went on steadily. Belgium was producing large quantities of coal, pig-iron and textiles from the 'thirties onwards. Between 1830 and 1850 France was

mechanising her textile industries, and the metallurgical industry at le Creusot was rapidly expanding. German industrial development was hindered by political disunion, and did not really get going until after the foundation of the Empire. But from 1870 she made tremendous strides. She possessed valuable coal deposits in the Ruhr Valley, and after 1870 a plentiful supply of iron ore in Lorraine; and the invention of the Gilchrist-Thomas process of steel manufacture (1878) enabled that ore to be used in making steel. By the end of the century she had surpassed England in steel production; while at the same time German chemists and electrical engineers were gaining the foremost place in the world. Nor was the process confined to Europe. In the United States the same rapid industrialisation was taking place, and American goods were beginning to flood the European markets.

Thus in the last quarter of the century the European market was becoming increasingly saturated with manufactured goods; and the competition of rival manufacturing groups was growing ever more intense. The competition showed itself in two ways: first, in the formation of great industrial combines like the German Krupp metallurgical group, and the big A.E.G. electrical combine; and secondly, in the adoption of protective tariffs by the great European states. The tendency to follow the lead of England in establishing international Free Trade was soon abandoned. One after another the nations erected tariff walls to preserve the home market for their own agricultural and industrial producers: Germany led the way in 1879; France followed in 1881; Austria, Italy and Russia went in for Protection in the next few years. Even in England the demand for protective duties began with Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform campaign in 1903. In this situation, with ever-increasing commercial competition and ever-growing tariff-walls in Europe, only one solution lay open to the manufacturer and the merchant—to acquire markets outside Europe, to induce the Chinese coolie and the African native to buy their wares. But the market

could only be completely secured if political control was established. And so began the great international struggle for world power which was to culminate in the Great War.

The Coming of Socialism. The other factor of late nineteenth-century European history is equally a product of the economic changes described above. In Europe, as in England, industrialisation brought with it a crop of social evils; squalid factory towns, long hours of labour, unemployment, insecurity. In place of a semi-independent peasantry, it brought into existence an urban proletariat, banded together in resistance to oppression, conscious of its interests as a class. As a result, the revolt against the existing order of society grew and hardened into a definite political creed. The revolt began, as we should expect, in England, with Robert Owen and the Chartists in the 'thirties. In the next decade it became an influential force in France, and, organised by Louis Blanc, played a part in the Revolution of 1848. From there the movement spread to Germany, where it was to find its interpreter and prophet in Karl Marx. In his *Communist Manifesto* (1848) and in *Capital*, of which the first part was published in 1867, Marx laid down the essential principles of the modern Socialist creed; he taught that history was the record of the struggle between classes for power, that the bourgeois capitalist class had established its domination by obtaining control of the means of production, that the proletariat must unite to overthrow that domination by violent revolution, by the seizure of the means of production. At the same time another German Socialist leader, Lasalle, was building up a working-class organisation—the German Working Men's Association. In 1864, under the influence of Marx, a further step was taken—the establishment of an international Socialist organisation to promote the revolutionary cause in all countries.

The 'First International' only lasted ten years, and was destroyed by internal dissension; a more important landmark in the history of the Labour Movement is the great Socialist rising in France—the Paris Commune of 1871—

which is described in the next chapter. The failure of that rising proved a severe set-back to the Socialist cause, and a period of repression followed. But in the 'eighties the movement revived in France, in Germany, in England and, to a lesser extent, in the other countries of Europe. From that time until the Great War the Labour movement gained in strength and in organisation and became an increasingly serious challenge to the existing social order.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE

FRANCE, 1871-1914

The Paris Commune. The events which followed the surrender of Paris to the victorious Prussians in January 1871 may be briefly recalled. In accordance with the terms of the armistice, a National Assembly had been elected to meet at Bordeaux and to arrange terms of peace between France and Germany. That Assembly had elected Thiers, the veteran minister of Louis Philippe and opponent of Napoleon III, as head of the executive and had empowered him to conduct the negotiations. The peace terms which were to be embodied in the Treaty of Frankfurt were concluded on March 10th; they included the cession of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, the payment of an indemnity of £200,000,000 and the maintenance of a German army of occupation on French soil until the indemnity should be paid.

But no sooner had the Provisional Government made peace with the enemy than it had to face the great revolt within its own frontiers—the rebellion of the Paris Commune. For that rebellion there were many causes. It was partly a revolt of Paris against the provinces, partly a Republican outburst against the danger of monarchical restoration, partly a Socialist rising against the domination of the middle class. Paris had suffered terrible hardships during the siege, and the Parisian working class was starving and desperate. There was a general resentment against the humiliating terms accepted by the Provisional Government, and that sense of humiliation was accentuated

by the entry of Prussian troops into the capital. Fuel was added to the flames by the unwise conduct of the National Assembly, which established itself in Versailles in order to be free from the revolutionary influence of Paris, and which passed a decree suspending payment of the wages of the National Guard, the Paris militia which had been enrolled during the siege and which was still under arms. This discontent was strengthened by the revolutionary ideology of the Parisian proletariat—memories of the Commune of 1792, memories of the National Workshops and the 'June Days' of 1848, stirrings of the new revolutionary Socialism expounded by Karl Marx. Finally it must be noted that Paris was fundamentally Republican. It had never accepted the Third Empire; and now it suspected an intention on the part of the National Assembly to restore the monarchy; a suspicion not without foundation, since out of the 630 members of that Assembly, 400 were professed Monarchists, supporters either of the Legitimate Bourbon claim, now represented by the Comte de Chambord, or of the Orleans line, of which the Comte de Paris was the representative. The object of the rising which took place in March 1871 was on the one hand the establishment of a Republic, and on the other, the decentralisation of France—the splitting-up of the country into self-governing 'Communes' on the 1792 model.

The revolt began on March 18th, when Thiers ordered the removal of cannon from the heights of Montmartre. The National Guards resisted the order, the troops sent to carry it out fraternised with the rebels, and two of their commanding officers were shot. Thiers, recognising that he had not yet the military strength required for the reconquest of the capital, ordered evacuation, and Paris was left in the hands of the insurgents, who elected a 'Council of the Commune,' and adopted the red flag and the old Revolutionary calendar. It was open war.

But behind Thiers stood the unanimous support of the provinces and the loyalty of the regular troops, now returning from German prison camps. In April an army of

150,000 men under the command of MacMahon advanced to besiege Paris. After a long bombardment the regular troops forced their way into the suburbs on May 21st, and a terrible week of ferocious street-fighting began, during which 17,000 Parisians were slain. As the Government troops slowly gained the upper hand the rebels, in despair, massacred their hostages, including the Archbishop of Paris, and set fire to the centre of the city. Many public buildings, including the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, were burnt down. By May 28th the last barricades were captured and the authority of the Government was established in Paris. The next few months witnessed savage reprisals: 13,000 people were sentenced to transportation. The slaughter and the reprisals left behind a bitterness which half a century has not wholly effaced.

The Establishment of the Third Republic. Having restored the authority of the Government, the next task which Thiers had to face was the reparation of the havoc wrought by the Franco-Prussian War. Under his leadership France made a marvellous recovery. The huge war indemnity was paid off in full by 1873, one year before the time appointed, and the last German soldier was withdrawn. In the same year the Government reorganised the military system, introducing a drastic conscription law by which every able-bodied Frenchman was liable to military service. Then the question of the form of the government remained to be settled. Monarchist feeling in the National Assembly was still very strong, and in 1873 Thiers resigned to give place to an avowed Monarchist, Marshal MacMahon (President 1873-9). The difficulty lay in the rival claims of the two aspirants to the throne—the Bourbon Comte de Chambord, and the Orleanist Comte de Paris, grandson of Louis Philippe. That difficulty was overcome by an agreement that the Comte de Chambord ('Henri V'), who was childless, should reign first, and that on his death the crown should pass to the Orleans House. The prospect of a restoration loomed nearer; but it was destroyed by the intransigent attitude of 'Henry V'—a true Bourbon—

who refused to recognise the tricolour flag and insisted on the restoration of the white flag of the old monarchy. Such a thing was impossible; the tricolour symbolised all that was dear to French hearts and, as MacMahon said, if the white flag was restored 'the *chassepots* (rifles) would go off of themselves.' So the monarchical project had for the present to be abandoned. But meanwhile the Republican party was gaining ground at every by-election; and the Provisional Government could not go on for ever. In 1875 therefore, the Assembly reluctantly passed the 'Constitutional Laws' which established the present republican system of France. There was to be a President of the Republic, elected for a term of seven years by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies sitting together (France would have no more Presidential *coups d'état* in the Louis Napoleon manner). The Senate was to consist of 300 members, elected by local councils; and the Lower House, the Chamber of Deputies, was to be elected by universal manhood suffrage for four years; it could be dissolved by the President only with the consent of the Senate. The general effect of the Constitution was to create an Executive very much weaker and more dependent on the elected assembly than was the case in England; ministries have been short-lived and dependent upon a precarious coalition of parties in the Chamber of Deputies. Despite this fact, the Constitution of 1875 has stood the test of time remarkably well, and was one of the few governmental systems to survive unshaken the severe trial of the Great War.

Anti-Republican Movements. Within the next few years the Constitution thus established was to be severely tested. Its existence was menaced by the intrigues of the Royalists and the Clericals, a combination which represented all that was illiberal and reactionary in France, and which somewhat resembled the faction which has been the scourge of modern Spain. The first threat came from the President himself. In 1877 MacMahon dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and used every possible device to influence the elections and to obtain a royalist majority.

The attempt failed; the Chamber returned was overwhelmingly Republican, and shortly afterwards MacMahon resigned, to be followed by the definitely Republican Jules Grévy. A second danger arose in the 'eighties from the vain and showy General Boulanger, who, appointed Minister of War in 1885, endeavoured to obtain a popular following by posturing on a great black charger, by demanding a revision of the Constitution and by stirring up jingoist feeling against Germany. He succeeded in getting himself elected in numerous constituencies and was taken up by the Royalist-clerical faction. But the Republicans acted promptly; his arrest was ordered on a charge of conspiracy against the Republic; he fled to Brussels and there suicide ingloriously terminated his career in 1891.

The third and most severe trial which the young Republic had to suffer arose in the famous 'Dreyfus affair' in the next decade. In 1895 a Jewish officer, Captain Dreyfus, was arrested on a charge of selling military secrets to Germany. He was convicted and sent to Devil's Island.¹ But in the following year Colonel Picquart, chief of the Intelligence, examined the case and came to the conclusion that the documents on which Dreyfus had been convicted were a forgery, and that the real culprit was a certain Major Esterhazy. At once a violent controversy arose; the army chiefs took refuge in the 'honour of the army,' and were supported by the monarchists and clericals. The Republican supporters of Dreyfus contended that truth and justice were more important than the prestige of the officer class. In 1898 the famous novelist Zola gave his powerful support to the Dreyfus cause with the dramatic letter 'I accuse!' in which he charged the officers with a deliberate conspiracy to defeat justice. One of the officers concerned admitted to having forged documents to incriminate Dreyfus, and committed suicide. Dreyfus was retried, and again convicted. But by this time all France was convinced of his innocence. At last, in 1906, the case was again retried, and the innocence of Dreyfus was

¹ A French penal settlement off the coast of French Guiana.

established. He was restored to his position in the army. The supremacy of the Republican Government over the military caste was vindicated.

One result of the Dreyfus affair was the strengthening of an already powerful anti-clerical spirit in France. The Clerical party, discredited by its association with monarchism, and by its violent partisanship in the Dreyfus case, appeared as the enemy of liberty and progress. Consequently, the early twentieth century witnessed two severe anti-clerical laws. The 'Law of Associations' (1901) suppressed many monastic institutions, while in 1905 the Church was disestablished and the payment of clerical salaries by the state was abandoned.

Despite these internal dissensions and occasional scandals in high places, the Republic in the early twentieth century was growing in stability and strength. Economically, France was exceedingly prosperous; she had a large and thriving colonial empire; she was meeting the growing menace of German armaments with courage and confidence. By 1914 she had completely recovered from the greatest disaster in her history.

GERMANY UNDER BISMARCK, 1871-90

Character of the New Germany. We have already noted that the Constitution set up in the German Empire in 1871, while democratic in appearance, was in reality essentially despotic. The important thing about a constitution is not the legal institutions which it establishes, but the spirit in which it is worked; and the spirit which animated the Constitution of the German Empire was a combination of Junker conservatism and of military autocracy. The popular Assembly—the *Reichstag*—had no real control over the Executive; the Ministers were appointed by and were responsible to the Emperor and his omnipotent Chancellor. The upper chamber—the *Bundersrat* or Federal Council—was composed simply of delegates of the governments of the various states; and in that council the

representatives of Prussia exercised an overwhelming predominance. From 1871 to 1918 the destiny of the Empire lay entirely in the hands of two men, first Bismarck and then the Emperor, William II. The twenty years following the Franco-Prussian War saw the completion of Bismarck's life-work, the welding of the new state into unity and strength, the establishment of Prussian efficiency and Prussian discipline over the whole of Germany. Economically, politically, spiritually Germany underwent, during those years, an entire transformation.

The Kulturkampf. Inevitably the centralising and autocratic policy of the Iron Chancellor brought him into conflict with the two great international forces of the day—the Roman Catholic Church and the Labour movement. To Bismarck each of these forces represented an obstacle to the establishment of the unified nation-state of his ideal; and against each in turn he was to struggle fiercely and not wholly successfully.

The conflict with the Church followed almost immediately on the achievement of unity. In 1870 a great Vatican Council had met at Rome and had proclaimed the doctrine of Papal Infallibility (*i.e.* that the Pope, when pronouncing upon matters of religious teaching, cannot be wrong). To this doctrine a number of Catholic intellectuals in Germany, who called themselves the 'Old Catholics,' objected; and when they were persecuted by the orthodox bishops and deprived of teaching posts, they appealed to the Government for protection. This split in the Church was Bismarck's opportunity. He resented the immense power of the Catholic Church, and knew it to be hostile to the establishment of Prussian ascendancy in Germany. He therefore took up the cause of the Old Catholics. A series of decrees, of which the most important were the 'May Laws,' passed in May 1873, 1874 and 1875, were promulgated against the Church. Members of religious orders were forbidden to teach; the Jesuits were expelled from the country; civil marriage was established; schools were brought under the control of State inspectors; priests must

be educated in German universities, and the appointment of the clergy was brought under State control.

The passing of these laws led to a long and bitter struggle which was described as the *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilisation). Thousands of the clergy refused to obey the decrees and were expelled from their seats. A Catholic party—the 'Centre'—was formed in the *Reichstag*, and it maintained a vigorous and effective opposition to the Government. Gradually Bismarck began to realise the necessity for concession. The conflict was splitting the Empire in two; and the Chancellor needed the support of the Centre party against the growing menace of Socialism. The death of the intransigent Pius IX in 1878 made things easier; a compromise was arranged with his successor, the May Laws were quietly dropped, the religious orders returned to Germany and the clergy to their livings; only civil marriage and State inspection of schools were maintained.

Bismarck and Socialism. Bismarck now turned to face the second, and perhaps more dangerous, enemy. Socialism, as we have already pointed out, had been growing steadily in Germany in the 'sixties and 'seventies, largely owing to the influence of Marx. In 1875 the two German workers' parties were united as the Social Democratic party, and two years later the party gained half a million votes in the *Reichstag* elections. Bismarck was seriously alarmed, and attempts upon the Emperor's life in 1878 gave him an excuse for drastic repressive legislation; all papers, associations or meetings intended to promote Socialist teaching were suppressed, and the police were given wide powers to enforce the decrees. Nor was the Chancellor content merely with repression; he tried to inoculate the German people against the new teaching by giving them a dose of Socialism from above—the provision of working-class benefits by the State. Thus State insurance was established against sickness in 1883, against accidents in 1884, and against old age in 1889. Yet despite repression and State Socialism the Labour movement continued to grow.

In 1890, when Bismarck's rule came to an end, the Social Democrat party gained one and a half million votes. From that time until the war it was to become an increasingly powerful factor in German politics.

The Economic Development of Germany after 1871. One other feature of Bismarck's domestic policy requires mention—the adoption of a protective tariff system. From the formation of the *Zollverein* down to the 'seventies Germany had moved in the direction of Free Trade. In that decade, however, several factors combined to bring about a change. First, Germany was suffering from a crisis of speculation and over-production, caused by the payment of the huge French war indemnity. Secondly, the general European slump, which began in 1873, was inflicting serious damage on the manufacturing interest. Thirdly, the young and growing industries of Germany demanded protection from outside competition. Lastly, Bismarck himself required an increased revenue in order to free himself from the control of the Reichstag and to finance his social benefit schemes. In 1879, therefore, he put into action a general protective tariff both on foreign manufactures and on imported agricultural produce.

Partly as a result of this protective system, partly owing to the wealth of coal and iron-ore deposits, and also to the energy and enterprise of the German industrialists, the Empire underwent in the last quarter of the century a colossal commercial and industrial expansion. Coal-mining and steel manufacture developed rapidly, huge electrical and chemical industries were founded, and by the end of the century Germany was advancing to a place among the first three industrial Powers of the world. At the same time German shipping grew by leaps and bounds; the great Hamburg-America and North-German-Lloyd companies were established; and after 1900 the mercantile marine was only second to that of England. Only one thing more was needed to complete the power and prosperity of Germany—the acquisition of a colonial Empire. In 1884 Germany entered the arena as a competitor in

the great struggle for colonial possessions and for world power. But the story of her imperial ambitions we must leave to another chapter.

Under these circumstances, with two victorious wars to her credit, with the strongest army in Europe, with an ever-growing pre-eminence in industry and commerce, it is not surprising that the spirit of the new Germany should be one of militant and aggressive nationalism. That spirit found the perfect expression in the person of the young monarch who mounted the Imperial throne in 1888. In March the reign of the old Emperor, who had supported Bismarck loyally to the end, came to a close and his son Frederick, already stricken with a fatal disease, reigned only for three months. The grandson, the Kaiser William II, was the most brilliant of the Hohenzollerns since Frederick the Great. Vain, theatrical, inordinately ambitious, he yet possessed great ability and a determined will. Within two years he had quarrelled with Bismarck, 'dropped the pilot,' and taken over entire control. In the hands of this unstable and irresponsible despot lay henceforth the fate of Germany—and of Europe.

CHAPTER XIX

RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Main Factors in Russian History. So far we have dealt with Russian affairs only in so far as they affected the political situation in Europe as a whole—in connection with the Greek struggle for independence, the Hungarian revolution of 1848-9 and the Crimean War. It is now time to say something of the internal history of Russia in the nineteenth century; and in order to understand that history, we must first take note of certain characteristics by which Russia differed from the states of Western Europe. The first of these features is its enormous size. The Russian Empire stretched from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea, and from the Baltic to the Pacific; at its fullest extent it covered one-sixth of the total land-surface of the earth. This vast, unwieldy state, containing peoples of the most diverse character and of widely differing stages of development, paralysed, until the coming of railways in the late nineteenth century, by appallingly bad internal communications, presented an insuperable obstacle alike to efficient government and to social and economic progress.

From this fact follows the second characteristic of nineteenth-century Russia—the extraordinary backwardness of its civilisation. Alone of the states of Europe it remained unaffected by the great revolutionary impulse which spread outward from France: in many respects its general condition resembled that of Western Europe in the Middle Ages. The great majority of its population consisted of serfs, illiterate, degraded and downtrodden, liable to be bought and sold by families, and to be flogged to death at their master's orders, subject to innumerable menial obligations. Above them was a narrow, aristocratic caste of landowners, living

for the most part in great luxury and monopolising all the high offices in State, Army and Church. And over all the Czar, 'Autocrat of all the Russias,' a despot maintained by military force. There was practically no industry and no middle class, such as formed the vanguard of progress in other countries (at the beginning of our period only 5 per cent. of the population lived in towns); while progressive thought was effectively stifled by the reactionary influence of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The third important factor in the history of Russia was the need for access to the sea. Such harbours as she possessed were of little value; Archangel on the White Sea was ice-bound half the year, St Petersburg on the Baltic was blocked for several months, and Odessa on the Black Sea was useless while the Turks controlled the Dardanelles. This fact largely accounts for the insistent demand for expansion which characterised Russian foreign policy—expansion westwards to the Baltic, eastwards to the Pacific, south towards Constantinople and the Persian Gulf. Briefly, then, the history of modern Russia may be summed up thus: at home, an alternation of brutal repression and of ineffective attempts at reform; abroad, ceaseless expansion at the expense of weaker neighbours, until Russian ambitions became a challenge and a menace to the other Great Powers of Europe.

Alexander I (1801-25). Until the eighteenth century the isolation of Russia from the rest of Europe remained complete, but during that period, she had been brought into closer contact with the West by the policy of her two greatest rulers: Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Catharine II (1762-90). Peter had overthrown the supremacy of Sweden, established Russia on the shores of the Baltic and built St Petersburg; while he had done something to 'westernise' the semi-Oriental manners and customs of his people, much as Mustapha Kemal did in modern Turkey. Catharine II, by a policy of ruthless aggression, had added the northern shores of the Black Sea and the greater part of Poland to her dominions. Thus

when Alexander I ascended the throne in 1801, Russia had already become an important factor in European politics. With the great part played by Alexander in the affairs of Europe—his contribution to the overthrow of Napoleon, his influence at the Congress of Vienna and his grandiose scheme of a 'Christian brotherhood of Kings'—we have already dealt. We have seen him actuated by a curious sympathy with Liberal ideas, a sympathy which caused Metternich considerable alarm. The same Liberal tendency is visible for a time in his domestic policy. He allowed Finland, which he had acquired from Sweden, to retain its own language and customs and a share in its own government. He showed sympathy with Polish nationalism by erecting that part of Poland which he obtained at the Vienna settlement into a separate kingdom, with a Constitution providing for an elected Diet, religious toleration and freedom of the Press. In Russia itself he made a beginning in educational reform and drew up plans (which never materialised) for the abolition of serfdom. But a Romanoff could not be a Liberal for long; the persuasions of Metternich, the murder of Kotzebue, and the assassination of the Duc de Berri sufficed to convince him of the error of his ways. For the last five years of his reign he governed as autocratically as every other Czar: Press censorship was imposed; university teaching was strictly controlled, and the Polish Diet was not allowed to meet.

Reaction (1825-55). With the accession of his successor, Nicholas I, this policy of reaction was even more ruthlessly carried out. Nicholas was by nature violently antipathetic to Liberal ideas; and the antipathy was increased by the 'Decembrist' revolt which took place at his accession. The revolt was an attempt on the part of a group of army officers, who had imbibed Liberal principles during their campaigns against France, to depose Nicholas and put his brother Constantine on the throne. The movement failed and ferocious reprisals followed; the five leaders were hanged and many others transported to Siberia. Henceforth repression was systematically

pursued; a secret police—the dreaded ‘Third Section’—was set up to search out revolutionary conspiracies. This policy produced its natural reaction; in 1830 the Poles, stimulated by the news of the July revolution in France, broke into rebellion and proclaimed their independence. But the Russian army was overwhelmingly strong, and after a gallant struggle the Poles were completely crushed. By the end of 1831, the Czar was able to announce that ‘order reigns in Warsaw.’ Again drastic measures were adopted; the constitution was abolished, the Polish language was forbidden, and Poland became a province of the Russian Empire. Henceforth, secure in the obedience of his subjects, Nicholas was able to devote himself to projects of expansion abroad, projects which, as we have seen, finally brought him into conflict with England and France in the Crimean War. The humiliating failure of Russia in the Crimean campaign was a vivid revelation of the inefficiency of the administration. But Nicholas died before the war was ended, leaving his successor to face the reckoning.

The Reforms of Alexander II (1855–66). His son, Alexander II (1855–81), was a man of more humane and reasonable disposition, and his accession was hailed as the beginning of a new age. But again Liberal hopes were doomed to disappointment. The new Czar began well; he pardoned the Decembrist conspirators and the Polish rebels still exiled in Siberia; he removed restrictions from the universities and relaxed the censorship of the Press. And during the first few years of his reign three important reforms were carried out. The first was the emancipation of the serfs. On the royal domains the serfs were freed immediately and allowed to become the proprietors of the land for which they had previously paid dues. Then the Edict of 1861 abolished serfdom on the lands of the nobles also; but here the interests of the nobles had to be considered. The Edict therefore provided that a portion of the nobles’ land should be taken over by the village community (not by the individual peasants), and that the

village should pay back to the State in annual instalments the money granted in compensation to the nobles. The arrangement proved very unsatisfactory to the peasants. They did not become proprietors; they were saddled with a burden of debt, and finally, the amount of land available was insufficient to keep the peasant above the level of grinding poverty (the average holding in 1861 was only six acres). As the population grew rapidly in the later nineteenth century, there developed among the peasants an intense and urgent land hunger; and that land hunger was to prove a decisive element in the Revolution of 1917.

The next step taken by the government of Alexander II was the setting up, in 1864, of 'Zemstvos'—that is, elected assemblies to govern the districts and provinces. This was the first experiment in self-government in Russian history; and it was to prove a valuable training in political consciousness. Lastly, the Government carried out a wholesale reform of the judicial system; trial by jury was established and the judges were rendered independent of Government control.

Repression Renewed (1866-1904). So far Alexander II had done much to deserve the title of 'the Czar Liberator' which had been bestowed upon him. But after 1866, his policy underwent a change similar to that which had befallen the policy of his earlier namesake. The change may partly be attributed to the Polish rebellion of 1863. Polish nationalism had long been smouldering under the surface and now it flared out into a desperate and ill-organised revolt. The rebellion was hopeless from the start, and was easily suppressed; but it helped to turn Alexander away from the path of Liberal reform. A second and even more decisive influence in the same direction was an attempt made to assassinate the Czar in 1866. Henceforth the policy of Alexander grew increasingly reactionary and repressive. The old weapons of tyranny—Press censorship, secret police and exile to Siberia—were revived in full force, and all hopes of reform from above disappeared. As a result, the enlightened and progressive section of the

people turned to secret revolutionary activity. This activity took two forms: Nihilism and the Anarchist movement organised by Bakunin from his refuge in Switzerland. Both movements, characteristically Russian, aimed at nothing but the destruction of the existing order, and their weapon was political assassination. Several leading politicians and generals were murdered in the later years of the reign, and finally Alexander himself was killed by a bomb in 1881.

A ruler who mounted the throne in such circumstances had no choice but to intensify the policy of repression and persecution. During the reign of Alexander III (1881-94) Czarist tyranny reached its high-water mark. The *Zemstvos* were deprived of much of their authority, the Press and the Universities were again strictly controlled, and the activities of the secret police were redoubled. Finally, oppression of the subject races of the Empire and a ferocious persecution of the Jews added to the burden of injustice and misgovernment. Opposition was silenced; but it persisted under the surface. Under the last of the Romanoffs, Nicholas II (1894-1917), that opposition grew steadily stronger. The Czar himself was weak and incapable and wholly under the domination of his German wife, who was to play the rôle of a Marie Antoinette in the downfall of the Czardom. Furthermore, the long-delayed industrialisation of Russia was taking place, the population was beginning to congregate in the towns, and this urban proletariat was to prove much more susceptible than the peasants to the teaching of Marxian socialism. The Russian Social Democratic Party was founded in 1898, to work for the overthrow of the Czarist régime; and in the following years a series of big strikes took place in the industrial areas. It only required one serious blow to the prestige of the Government to bring Russia to the edge of revolution.

The Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). The blow came with the war against Japan. Since the checking of her ambitions in the Balkans by the Crimean War, Russia had

been pursuing a policy of expansion in the Far East. She had gained the Amur Province in 1858; and the acquisition of the Maritime Province two years later brought her on to



THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

the Pacific, where she had founded the great naval base of Vladivostock. Later the Trans-Siberian railway had been constructed, linking Vladivostock with Moscow; in 1898 she had taken possession of Port Arthur, an important

harbour on the Liao-Tung peninsula; and finally, after the Boxer Rising of 1900, Russian troops had occupied Manchuria. But this expansion brought Russia into sharp conflict with the rising power of Japan. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Japan had undergone an amazing transformation; its industries had been revolutionised by the adoption of Western technique; a strong army and navy had been built up; and the Japanese Government, following still in the footsteps of the European Powers, had conceived imperialist ambitions at the expense of the decaying Chinese Empire. These ambitions were challenged by the growing power of Russia. Already Japan had been robbed of the spoils of one victory over China by Russian intervention. She prepared for her revenge; and now, strengthened by alliance with England, was ready to seek it. In 1904 Japan demanded the withdrawal of Russia from Manchuria, and, when the demand was refused, declared war. To the amazement of the world, the war resulted in an overwhelming victory for Japan. The Japanese navy, under Admiral Togo, defeated the Russian Pacific fleet and captured Port Arthur. A well-equipped land-force advanced into Manchuria and routed the Russians at Mukden. And the Russian Baltic fleet, having sailed round the world, met with crushing defeat at the battle of Tsushima. The Russian Government had no choice but to accept the humiliating terms dictated by the victorious Japanese. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) Russia gave up Port Arthur and the southern half of the island of Sakhalin, and recognised Japanese influence in Korea.

The Twilight of Czardom (1905-14). The news of these disasters provided a powerful stimulus to the revolutionary movement in Russia. The events of "Red Sunday" (January 22nd, 1905) made matters worse; a procession of strikers, marching to the Winter Palace in St Petersburg to present a petition to the Czar, was fired on by the troops, and about 1500 were killed. This outrage, combined with the growing tales of defeats abroad, led to great outbursts

of strikes and disorder, culminating in a General Strike, which completely paralysed the Government. Russia was on the brink of revolution. Nicholas reluctantly gave way and issued a manifesto (October 1905), promising freedom of religion, speech and association, and summoning a 'Duma' (Parliament) to be elected on a democratic basis and with extensive legislative powers.

But even now, at the eleventh hour, the hopes of the reformers were doomed to disappointment. When the Duma met in 1906, it soon became apparent that the Czar was not prepared to sacrifice one iota of his despotic power. The demands of the Duma for the establishment of a constitutional government were refused, the absolute prerogative of the Czar in foreign and military matters was uncompromisingly asserted, and after two months the Duma was dissolved. A second Parliament was summoned in 1907, but in spite of the resolute efforts of the Government to influence the elections, this also proved too radical in its views and was soon dismissed. Finally, the Government resorted to a drastic limitation of the franchise, and so was able to secure the election of a third Duma which was sufficiently servile to be allowed to survive, impotently and harmlessly, until 1912. But the only effect of this refusal to make any concessions was to discredit the moderate Liberal reformers and to strengthen the party of violent revolution. The working class organised its village and factory 'soviets' (*i.e.* councils), and prepared for the day of deliverance. That day was not far off.

CHAPTER XX

IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POWER

Importance of Colonial Rivalries. We have observed the way in which the first of our two factors in modern European history—the rise of Socialism—affected the internal history of France, Germany, and Russia. We must now turn to the second, and examine the effect of the growth of imperial ambitions upon the relations of the European States. From 1870 onwards, those ambitions exert an increasingly powerful influence on the political situation; indeed, it would be true to say that they form the mainspring of the alliances and antagonisms of the Great Powers. It was the resentment of Italy over the French annexation of Tunis which brought her into the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria. It was in part, at least, the mutual antagonism to British imperialism which brought Russia and France together into the Dual Alliance. It was a fear for her colonial and maritime supremacy that drew England out of her long isolation and made her seek allies abroad; and the same cause produced the growing tension between England and Germany in the pre-war years. Finally, it was this factor of imperialism which in 1914 lifted the Franco-German dispute over Alsace-Lorraine and the antagonism of Teuton and Slav in the Balkans on to the plane of a world-wide conflict.

Motives of Imperial Expansion—(a) POLITICAL. Up to the last quarter of the nineteenth century the expansion of Europe had proceeded comparatively slowly. England had emerged from the Napoleonic Wars with fairly extensive colonial possessions in Canada, India and Australia, and had added to these at the peace settlement Cape Colony, Ceylon and various naval bases; since that time her

Empire had made gradual progress both in extent and in the achievement of self-government. France had secured a foothold in Africa by the conquest of Algeria (1830-47). Russia had begun her drive southwards into Turkestan and eastwards to the Pacific. But after 1878 the rate of expansion enormously increased. This fact is in part explained by the political situation; the Congress of Berlin (1878) marks the end of the struggle for national self-realisation, for independence, or for unity; and the new nations were free to turn their attention to projects of territorial aggrandisement outside Europe. National prestige played a large part in the development of colonial ambitions; by the side of the British Empire, the United States and Russia, the European nations felt out of proportion; and they developed a kind of inferiority complex, which could only be removed by large territorial acquisitions.

(b) ECONOMIC. But behind the spirit of inflated nationalism lay far more important economic motives. The period after 1870 is marked, as we have seen, by a very rapid expansion in industry and trade, both in the chief European countries and in the United States. As the production of manufactured goods increased and commercial competition grew more and more intense, one state after another resorted to protective tariffs to preserve the home market for its own manufactures. Inevitably, therefore, the industrialists and merchants were driven to seek markets outside Europe and to demand that those markets be guaranteed either by direct political control or by the establishment of a predominant influence by their parent State.

The development of industry affected the situation in another way also. As scientific knowledge and technical skill progressed, the demand arose for new raw materials—for copper, rubber, palm-oil, nitrates and other commodities, which could only be obtained in tropical climates; and the safety and well-being of the State demanded that access to these materials should be ensured. Finally, the

undeveloped areas of the world offered yet another attraction to the ambitious capitalist: they were fields for the profitable investment of money. Behind the punitive expedition or the diplomatic mission came the financier, anxious to lend money to an indigent government, to obtain concessions for building a railway, or to undertake the establishment of industrial plant. In Egypt, Morocco and China particularly, this element played an important part.

(c) OTHER MOTIVES. Apart from these purely economic motives, colonisation offered a further inducement; it was a solution to the problem of surplus population. Throughout the century the population of Europe was rapidly increasing, and a steady stream of emigrants had gone to the United States. But if the State possessed colonies into which the surplus population could be exported, this loss of man-power would be prevented. This aspect of the matter had been stressed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the English Colonial Reformers as early as the 'thirties, and now Germany and Italy awoke to it also.

Lastly we must not omit to mention the more idealistic motives which also played a part in stimulating colonisation. Some exponents of imperialism sincerely believed that it was the duty of the enlightened and highly civilised peoples of Western Europe to take their enlightenment and civilisation to the benighted peoples of Africa and China. Such a man was Cecil Rhodes, who said, 'I contend that we are the first race in the world, and that the more of the world we inhabit, the better it is for the human race. If there be a God, I think what he would like me to do is to paint as much of the map of Africa British red as possible.' Such a man, again, was Kipling, with his devout belief in 'the White Man's Burden,' and his contempt for 'the lesser breeds without the law.'

Prompted then by these motives, the Great Powers of Europe engaged in the last quarter of the century in a desperate scramble for the acquisition of such parts of the earth's surface as were not yet appropriated. The details of that struggle may conveniently be grouped under three

heads: the partition of Africa, the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia, and the exploitation of China. ✓

The Partition of Africa—(a) EGYPT AND THE SUDAN. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century, Africa remained the 'Dark Continent.' Its interior was little known, and the only European settlements were those of the French in Algeria, the British and Boers in South Africa and the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique. But gradually the interior was opened up by the voyages of explorers like Livingstone, Burton, Speke and Stanley, and the age of African colonisation may be said to begin with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The canal was a French enterprise, built by de Lesseps and financed largely by French capital. But in 1875 Disraeli, realising the danger to the British route to India, had stepped in and acquired the shares of the Khedive Ismail. In the following year England and France were compelled by the headlong progress of Ismail towards bankruptcy to set up 'Dual Control'; sending out two commissioners to safeguard the interests of their investors. Further misdeemeanours of Ismail led to his deposition by the Sultan in 1879, and his son Tewfik was installed as Khedive. But at this point an Egyptian nationalist revolt against foreign domination broke out, under the leadership of Arabi Bey. England proposed joint intervention, but France refused to participate, and England intervened alone. An expedition was dispatched under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Arabi was defeated at Tel-el-Kebir and the rising was suppressed. The victory marked the beginning of British control over Egypt. Under the leadership of the British Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer), Egyptian finances were reformed, the army reorganised, and the condition of the peasants greatly improved.

Meanwhile, further complications had arisen in the Sudan, which was under the control of the Egyptian Government. A fanatical Arab, calling himself the 'Mahdi' (Messiah), had risen in rebellion. After an Egyptian expedition sent against him had been annihilated, it was

decided to evacuate the Sudan; and to carry out the evacuation the British Government chose General Gordon. The choice was unfortunate; Gordon disobeyed his instructions and allowed himself to be besieged by the Mahdi in Khartoum. The Gladstone government delayed in sending out a relieving expedition, and when the expedition, under the command of Wolseley, finally reached Khartoum, Gordon was dead. For the moment the British withdrew from the Sudan. But the demand for the avenging of Gordon and for the restoration of order in the Sudan grew stronger; and in 1896 Kitchener was sent out as the leader of an expedition against the Mahdists. At a great battle at Omdurman (1898) the Dervishes were completely defeated and a joint British and Egyptian control was established in the Sudan.

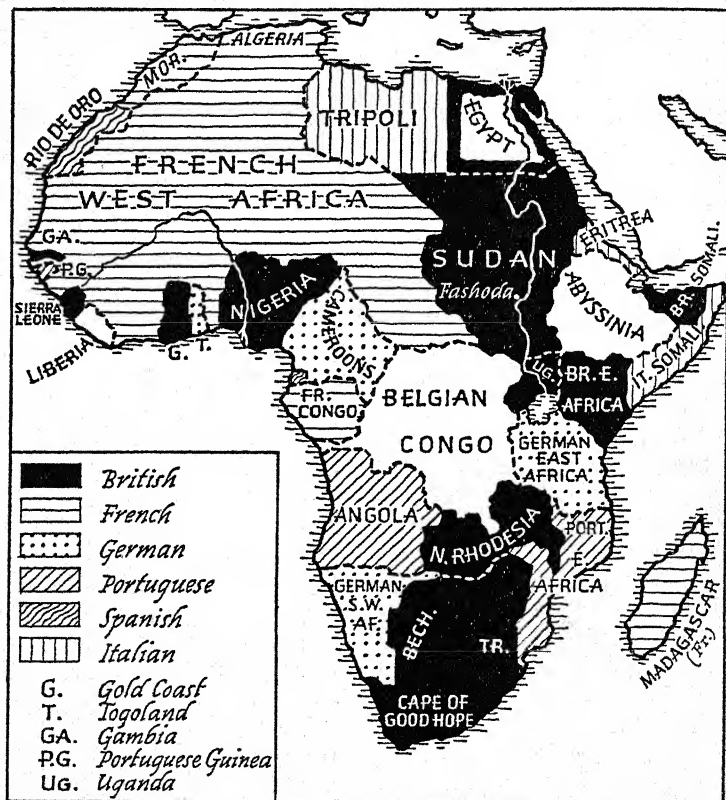
But the British domination was not to pass unchallenged. France had strengthened her hold on the northern coast of Africa by the annexation of Tunis (1881), and she regarded the establishment of British ascendancy in Egypt with unconcealed jealousy. Since 1881 she had been extending her domination over the whole of North-West Africa, from Senegal on the west coast to the borders of the Sudan; and she was now ready to dispute British control over the upper reaches of the Nile. While Kitchener had been conquering the Mahdists, a French expedition under Marchand had been marching across Central Africa from the Congo. The two expeditions met at Fashoda (1898), and a tense situation arose which almost led to war. Finally however, the French Government agreed to recognise the Nile basin as a British sphere of influence in return for the confirmation of her rights in West Africa.

(b) CENTRAL AFRICA. While the north was being thus partitioned between England and France, a vigorous scramble for territory was taking place in Central Africa. As early as 1876 King Leopold II of Belgium had realised the possibilities of Africa and had summoned a conference at Brussels to discuss the opening up of the continent. There an 'International African Association' was set up to

promote exploration and settlement; and in 1879 the Association sent out Stanley to explore the Congo basin and to make treaties with native chiefs. But the organisation, despite its name, was largely dominated by the influence of Leopold; and the extension of Belgian influence in the Congo raised sharp protests from France and Portugal, who considered that their interests were being encroached upon. In consequence an international conference was summoned at Berlin. The decisions of this conference, embodied in the Berlin Act of 1885, were of the utmost importance; they laid down the rules under which future territorial expansion was to be conducted. The 'Congo Free State' was set up (under Leopold's control) with full trading rights for all countries; the slave-trade was forbidden, and no Power was to annex territory without having effectively occupied it.

Henceforth the game proceeded merrily. Germany had been prevented from joining in hitherto by Bismarck's reluctance to undertake extra-European commitments; but now she proceeded to make up for lost time. During the years 1884-5 she annexed South-West Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons on the west coast; and in the next few years she established her control over German East Africa (now Tanganyika Territory); thus attaining third place among the European powers in Africa. Italy, later still, established small colonies on the east coast—in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland—and attempted to gain control over Abyssinia; but that attempt led to a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Abyssinians at Adowa (1896)—a stain which all the king's bombers and all the king's men have only recently been able to eradicate. But it was on the Mediterranean rather than the Red Sea coast that Italian eyes were fixed; and it was not until 1911 that Italy was able to achieve her long-cherished ambition by snatching Tripoli from the moribund Turkish Empire. By that date the whole of Africa, with the exception of Abyssinia, Morocco and the native state of Liberia, had been divided up amongst the Powers.

(c) BRITON AND BOER IN SOUTH AFRICA. It remains to record briefly the extension of British rule in South Africa. That rule had begun with the acquisition of Cape Colony



THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

(1814), and had been extended by the annexation of Natal in 1843. But after that time the pacific and anti-imperialist temper of British governments had prevented further expansion. The independence of the Boer settlements founded after the Great Trek—the Orange Free State and

the Transvaal—had been recognised by treaty in the 'fifties. During Disraeli's ministry, however, a new situation arose owing to the growing menace of the Zulus on the border of the Transvaal. The Transvaal was annexed, and the power of the Zulus broken at Ulundi. But as soon as the danger was over the Boers demanded the re-establishment of their independent status; and, after the British defeat at Majuba, Gladstone, hostile as ever to imperial expansion, had restored the independence of the Transvaal. But the era of imperialism was now at hand; and during the following years the area of British occupation rapidly increased, until the Boer Republics were entirely surrounded. British control was established in Bechuanaland (1885) and Zululand (1886); and in 1889 the British South African Company was formed under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes. The company proceeded to extend their control northwards; and within a few years the whole area now known as Rhodesia had been brought under British sovereignty. Conflict between the expanding British power and the Boers, determined to preserve their independence, was sooner or later inevitable; it was brought nearer by the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand (Transvaal) in 1886, which attracted swarms of British adventurers into the Boer Republic. The Boer government denied civil rights to these 'Uitlanders,' and their situation aroused increasing resentment in the neighbouring British territories. The rash and disastrous 'Jameson Raid,' when Rhodes' principal disciple marched into the Transvaal in an attempt to start a revolution, brought matters to a head. The Boers were encouraged to resistance by the hope of European intervention (the Kaiser had sent a telegram to the Boer President, Kruger, congratulating him on the suppression of the Jameson raid); the British Government, after unsuccessful negotiations with Kruger, dispatched troops to Cape Colony; and in 1899 the second Boer War began. The conquest of the Boers proved a harder business than the Government had anticipated; but the Peace of Vereeniging (1902), which ended the war,

established British sovereignty over the republics and rounded off British control over South Africa.¹

Central Asia. We have already noticed the driving urge for expansion which characterised Russian policy during the nineteenth century. During the later part of the century the main direction of her advance was southwards towards the Persian Gulf. Beyond her southern frontier lay an area of desert, populated by wandering Mohammedan tribesmen, whose raids upon Russian territory and Russian caravans provoked a series of punitive and conquering expeditions. The first big step in the conquest of Turkestan was the capture of Tashkend (1864); the last, the conquering of the Khanates of Khiva and Khokand in the 'seventies. By 1881 the establishment of Russian control over Turkestan was completed. But these conquests brought Russia on to the frontiers of Afghanistan; and beyond Afghanistan lay India. British fear of Russian designs on her Indian Empire was growing into a mania. Already we had fought one unsuccessful war in Afghanistan to prevent that area from coming under Russian control (1839-42). Now the rapid advance of Russia led to a further attempt to establish British influence over the Afghan tribesmen—an attempt which involved the murder of a British envoy, the deposition of two successive Amirs and the enthronement of a third, whose fidelity to the British alliance could be relied upon. But the southward advance of Russia continued. Merv was occupied in 1884; and when the Russians reached Penjdeh, in Afghanistan, in 1885 even the pacific Gladstone was roused to warlike preparations. A conflict seemed inevitable, and was only averted at the last minute by arbitration. At this point, however, Russia abandoned her designs in this quarter, and turned her face towards

¹ Four years later (1906) the two Boer states, the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, were granted self-government, and in 1909 they were united with Cape Colony and Natal in the Union of South Africa, which took its place along with the other self-governing Dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations. The loyalty of South Africa during the Great War amply demonstrated the success of this enlightened treatment of a conquered enemy.

the Far East, to pursue ambitions on the Pacific, which were to bring her into conflict with yet another imperialist Power.

The Exploitation of China. The opening-up of China to European penetration was the last adventure of nineteenth-century imperialism. The first step in that direction had been taken some time before by Great Britain, when the 'Opium War' (1838-42) gained us Hong-Kong and opened the five 'Treaty Ports' to European trade. Since that time France had established her control over Annam and Tonkin, and thus added the area now known as French Indo-China to her empire; while, in the north, Russia's acquisition of the Amur and Maritime Provinces brought her down to the borders of Manchuria. The stage was set; but it was not until the 'nineties that the curtain rose, and the overture was the building, after 1892, of the Trans-Siberian railway. In 1894 the new island power of Japan attacked and defeated the Chinese, who had hitherto made the serious mistake of cultivating the arts of life in preference to those of death. The victory of Japan enabled her to seize Formosa, and would have given her control over the Korea and Port Arthur, had not Russia, supported by France and Germany, intervened to balk her of her prey. But the war revealed the weakness of the Chinese Empire: the missionaries and concession-hunters had already begun to penetrate the country; only a pretext was needed for the establishment of direct control. The pretext was supplied by the murder of two German missionaries in 1897. Germany immediately seized Kiaochow. England retaliated by staking out a claim to Wei-hai-Wei. And Russia snapped up Port Arthur under the nose of the enraged Japanese. The Boxer Rising of 1900, a desperate and unsuccessful revolt of the Chinese against the domination of the 'foreign devils,' proved a check to further European annexations. But Japan had still to settle her account with Russia. The events of the Russo-Japanese War have been described elsewhere;¹ we need only note that the Treaty of

¹ See page 170.

Portsmouth established Japanese predominance in the Far East. With the conclusion of that treaty the age of Empire building comes to an end, though the antagonisms engendered in that great struggle, and the dissatisfaction of the less successful competitors, were to provoke an ever-increasing tension in the political atmosphere of Europe. We must now turn back to examine the effects of these colonial rivalries upon the relations and groupings of the great European Powers.

CHAPTER XXI

THE ALLIANCES AND THE ARMED PEACE (1870-1914)

The Foreign Policy of Bismarck after 1871. The work of Bismarck in consolidating and strengthening the new German Empire internally has been described in an earlier chapter; it remains now to examine the relations of the Empire with the other States of Europe, to trace the origin and evolution of the great Alliances which confronted each other at the outbreak of the Great War. To a large extent the formation of those alliances must be attributed to the policy pursued by Bismarck in the years after the Franco-Prussian War. The object of that policy was simply the obtaining of peace and security, in order that the internal development of the Empire might go on undisturbed. He set out to achieve this security in two ways; first, he sought to prevent France from becoming strong enough to embark upon a war of revenge by keeping her isolated, and with this object he encouraged her in colonial adventures which would bring her into conflict with England and Italy; secondly, he worked to surround Germany with a ring of friendly and allied Powers.

The first step in this direction was the formation of the *Dreikaiserbund* or League of Three Emperors. The Czar (Alexander II) and the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph, visiting Berlin in 1872, agreed with the Kaiser to abstain from making war on one another, to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans, and to join in repressing revolutionary movements. It was in effect a renewal of the old Holy Alliance. But the League was not destined to last long. It was severely strained in 1875 when Russia warned Germany that she would not tolerate a proposed

'preventive' war on France. It was completely disrupted by the conflict between Russia and Austria at the Congress of Berlin. With the details of the Berlin settlement we shall deal in the next chapter; here we need only notice that the attempt of Russia to destroy the Turkish Empire in Europe was frustrated by the opposition of England and Austria, and that the weight of German influence was thrown on to the side of Austria. The Congress showed clearly that Bismarck could not hope to have both Austria and Russia as allies; he must choose between the two.

The choice which he made was determined by the consideration that while Russia was strong enough to follow a line of her own, and possibly to drag Germany into highly undesirable Balkan entanglements, Austria was likely to prove a more subservient and more loyal ally. Bismarck therefore turned to Austria, and in 1879 an Austro-German alliance was concluded. The two Powers agreed to lend one another armed assistance if either were attacked by Russia and to observe benevolent neutrality if the attack came from another source (*i.e.* from France). That alliance was to remain unbroken until 1914, and was to prove a fixed principle of German diplomacy. For the moment, however, the treaty was kept secret. Bismarck was anxious not to lose the friendship of Russia entirely, and in 1881 he succeeded in negotiating a renewal of the *Dreikaiserbund*. The three rulers agreed that if any one of them were involved in war with a fourth Power the other two should remain benevolently neutral.

The Triple Alliance. In the following year the Austro-German alliance gained a new adherent. Italy was still isolated, and, as one of her statesmen observed, 'Isolation means annihilation.' The new Kingdom had little reason to love Austria, as long as the problem of Trieste and Trentino remained unsolved, but she had even more cause to dislike France. French clerical support of the Papacy caused continual irritation to the Italians; and in 1881 France had dealt a mortal blow to Italian colonial hopes

by the annexation (with Bismarck's secret connivance) of Tunisia, which Italy had long been coveting. The annexation drove Italy, as Bismarck had hoped, straight into the arms of France's enemies. A somewhat complicated treaty was drawn up in 1882, providing that Germany and Austria should assist Italy if she were attacked by France, and that Italy should assist Germany in similar circumstances. The treaty did not pledge Italy to assist Austria, and it specifically provided that the alliance was not directed against England (Italy had her long and vulnerable coast-line to consider). But Bismarck had achieved his object. He was now guaranteed against Russia by Austria, and against France by Italy, and yet Russia was bound to Germany by the Three Emperors' League.

The Dual Alliance. It is doubtful, however, whether even the genius of Bismarck could have held this complicated arrangement together for very long. The antagonism between Russia and Austria was growing more and more intense, as they competed fiercely to establish their ascendancy over Bulgaria. The *Dreikaiserbund*, which was due to lapse in 1887, was not renewed. Even then Bismarck managed to patch up a Reinsurance Treaty, by which Russia and Germany agreed to observe benevolent neutrality towards one another if either were attacked by another Power. But in the following year Bismarck was compelled, in order to avert war between Russia and Austria, to make public the secret treaty of 1879; in other words, to reveal that he was bound hand and foot to Austria. And two years later the new Kaiser, William II, took the reins into his own hands and dismissed the Chancellor. The first step of the new Government was to refuse to renew the Reinsurance Treaty; the attempt to keep Austria and Russia in the same camp was abandoned.

Russia, therefore, was compelled to seek an ally elsewhere, and the fact that she and France were equally isolated and equally threatened by the Triple Alliance naturally drew them together. Other influences operated in the same direction; both were alike frustrated in their colonial

ambitions by Great Britain—France in Africa, Russia in Central Asia; and since 1888 France had been supplying the almost insolvent Russian Government with huge loans. A *rapprochement*, therefore, was easy. In 1891 a French fleet visited Kronstadt, and was enthusiastically welcomed, and in the same year an *entente* was arranged, by which the two Powers agreed to confer together on questions endangering peace. This was followed in 1893 by a definite military convention: France agreed to support Russia if she were attacked by Germany or by Germany and Austria; and Russia undertook to assist France in the event of an attack by Germany, or Germany and Italy. It was a counterpoise to the Triple Alliance, and while the new combination was hardly as strong as the other, the balance of power was to some extent restored. The question for the future was whether the adherence of England to one side or the other could be secured.

The End of England's Isolation. Up to this time England had deliberately avoided any European entanglements, and while the other Powers competed for power and position, had gone on quietly and steadily adding to her great colonial possessions. But about the end of the century her 'splendid isolation' began to appear less attractive. The growth of imperialism and the struggle for extra-European territories had brought her into conflict with three great European Powers—with Russia in the Far East and in Afghanistan; with France in North Africa, culminating in the Fashoda incident of 1898; with Germany in Central Africa. She reaped the reward of all this when the Boer War provoked a startling outburst of anti-British feeling in Europe. Furthermore, that intense Anglo-German rivalry which was to become one of the dominant factors in pre-war diplomacy was just beginning. German manufacturers were competing in hitherto British markets; the Kaiser's telegram to Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid had caused alarm and indignation in England; and disquieting signs of a German intention to challenge England's naval supremacy were becoming visible. Admiral

Tirpitz was made Minister of Marine in 1897, and the first Navy Law, providing for a rapid increase of shipbuilding was passed in 1898; furthermore, the Kaiser was giving vent to dangerous sentiments: 'the trident of Neptune must be in our hands,' and 'our future lies upon the water.' Under such circumstances, isolation was no longer healthy.

The first overtures of friendship, made to Germany herself, were coldly received. The English Government, therefore, looked elsewhere. In 1902 an alliance was concluded with Japan, in order to checkmate Russian ambitions in the Far East. And in the same year the retirement of Lord Salisbury gave Lansdowne, the English Foreign Secretary, a freer hand. Lansdowne turned towards France, and France, despite Fashoda and Egypt and other bitter memories, was very willing to come to terms. The French Foreign Minister, Delcassé, had set his heart on Morocco, but Morocco could not be gained without England's consent. The courtship, therefore, was brief and successful. Edward VII was cheered in Paris; President Loubet was cheered in London; and behind the scenes the diplomats got down to the task of smoothing out causes of friction. The Entente Cordiale was concluded in 1904. Apart from the settlement of differences with regard to fishing rights in Newfoundland and boundaries in Africa, it provided that France should recognise British influence in Egypt and that Great Britain should give France a free hand in Morocco. It was an *entente*, not an alliance; but it ensured that henceforth British influence would be used in the interests of the Dual, rather than of the Triple, Alliance.

The Moroccan Crisis and the Triple Entente. The first outcome of the Entente Cordiale was a severe international crisis over Morocco. Germany had not been consulted over the settlement of the Moroccan question, and she was not prepared to allow the establishment of French ascendancy to pass unchallenged. In March 1905, during the course of the Mediterranean cruise, the Kaiser landed at Tangiers and made a deliberately provocative speech,

asserting the independence of the Sultan of Morocco and expressing his hope that Morocco would remain open to the free competition of all nations. The German government followed this up by demanding that the question of the status of Morocco should be submitted to an international conference. Delcassé wanted to defy Germany to do her worst. But the French Cabinet, uncertain of English support, was unwilling to risk war. Delcassé, therefore, had to resign, and an international conference was summoned at Algeciras, on the southern coast of Spain. At that conference (1906) France was loyally supported by England; and though Germany apparently carried her point, in that the independence of Morocco was proclaimed, it was a barren victory. France, in conjunction with Spain, was given control over the Moroccan police; and that, in the existing state of Morocco, was the really important thing. Germany's blundering diplomacy had merely rendered her even more unpopular in Europe, and had strengthened the bonds of the Anglo-French friendship.

During the following years France worked steadily to strengthen her diplomatic position by bringing her two allies together. The *rapprochement* was rendered easier by two things: the Russo-Japanese war and the growth of the German navy. The crushing defeat of Russia by Japan (see page 170) put a stop to Russian designs in the Far East, and thus rendered her less dangerous to England. And the rapid increase of the German navy was causing considerable alarm to the British government. Since 1898 a succession of Navy Laws had been passed by the Reichstag, providing for great increases in the number of ships. In 1906 Great Britain produced an entirely new type of warship, the 'Dreadnought,' which, by reason of its speed and its armaments, rendered earlier types largely obsolete. This was Germany's opportunity, since now both parties could, as it were, start from scratch. Germany therefore undertook the construction of a number of new battleships of the 'Dreadnought' type. It was

becoming increasingly clear that Germany meant to dispute British command of the seas. Russia and England, therefore, were easily drawn together, and their long-standing disputes in Central Asia were adjusted. The Entente of 1907 provided that Russia should recognise British predominance in Afghanistan, that both parties should respect the independence of Thibet, and that Persia should be divided into 'spheres of influence'—the northern portion under Russia, the south-east under Great Britain, with a neutral zone between. The adherence of England to the Dual Alliance changed the balance of power in Europe; the central European group was no longer irresistible; and Russia was encouraged to renew her old ambitions in the Balkans.

The Bosnia and Agadir Crises. Those ambitions received a sharp and sudden check in 1908. In that year Austria, using as an excuse the Young Turk revolution in Constantinople, declared the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which had been placed under her protection at the Congress of Berlin. The acquisition of the provinces greatly strengthened her position in the Balkans, and thus weakened that of Russia; and it destroyed the Serbian hope of a union of the Southern Slav peoples, hopes which were being vigorously supported by the Pan-Slav movement in Russia. Serbia was ready for war and looked to Russia for support; but Russia was held back by the refusal of England and France to fight in a Balkan quarrel and by the truculent attitude of Germany, which stood, as the Kaiser afterwards said, 'like a knight in shining armour' by Austria's side. Finally, Russia had to give way and recognise the annexation. But the antagonism of Russia and Austria had been brought to breaking point; it would not stand another strain.

Three years later, in 1911, the political temperature of Europe was again raised to fever-heat by a second German intervention in Morocco. Since the Algeciras agreement France had been quietly strengthening her control over that turbulent and disordered state. In 1910 increasing

anarchy gave her an excuse for direct military intervention. The incapable and spendthrift sultan had been deposed by a revolution, but his successor was unable to establish his control over the unruly tribesmen; and he appealed to France for assistance. A French expedition was therefore dispatched to Fez, the Moroccan capital. The German government immediately denounced this as a breach of the Algeiras agreement and, to drive the point home, sent a gunboat, the *Panther*, to Agadir, a port in Southern Morocco. But this time Germany had overreached herself. England regarded the German attempt to establish herself on the Moroccan coast as a threat to her own communications, and offered full co-operation and support to France. Lloyd George used words in the famous 'Mansion House Speech' which could only be interpreted as a direct warning to Germany; he stated that if England were to be treated as of no account in the affairs of Europe, 'peace at that price would be a humiliation impossible for a great country like ours to endure.' Faced with this resolute combination, Germany had no choice but to give way: in return for the cession of territory in the French Congo she recognised French influence as predominant in Morocco. But the incident greatly increased the tension between England and Germany, and brought Europe one step nearer to the abyss.

The Armed Peace. Such, then, was the situation in the years immediately preceding 1914. Europe was divided into two great armed camps, jealously watching each other's every move. And between the two groups the causes of friction grew and multiplied; France had never forgotten or forgiven the loss of Alsace-Lorraine; Russia and Austria were at one another's throats in the Balkans; and England regarded the naval and colonial ambitions of Germany with increasing apprehension. Each group strove constantly to surpass the other in armaments and military preparedness. In vain the Czar, Nicholas II, attempted, by summoning disarmament conferences at the Hague in 1899 and 1907, to call a halt to this desperate competition;

the attempts were defeated by the resolute opposition of Germany to any suggestion of disarmament. After the Agadir crisis the pace grew hotter. In 1912 Germany added two new army corps to her land forces and provided for a further strengthening of her navy; Austria adopted two years' compulsory military service, and increased her army to 450,000 men; France established conscription in her African colonies; and Churchill at the British Admiralty speeded up the pace of shipbuilding. In the following year Germany increased her army to 660,000 and France to 800,000, while Russia raised the period of compulsory service to 3½ years. In order to stampede the civilian population into accepting these increases, vigorous militarist propaganda was carried on in all countries, and especially in Germany, where one book in particular achieved notoriety—General Bernhardis' *Germany and the Next War*, which urged Germany to make 'world power or downfall' her aim, and fulminated threats against France and England. Sooner or later this furious piling up of armaments must result in catastrophe. As Lord Grey, looking back in later years on that period, has said: 'The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them—it was these that made the war inevitable.' By 1914 only a spark was needed to set the world ablaze. Since that spark was struck in the Balkans it is to the situation in the Near East that we must now turn.

CHAPTER XXII

THE EASTERN QUESTION FROM THE TREATY OF PARIS TO THE GREAT WAR (1856-1914)

The Balkans after 1856. In an earlier chapter we traced the development of the Balkan problem down to the Crimean War, and examined the main provisions of the Treaty of Paris. That treaty, as we saw, failed completely to provide a permanent settlement of the problem. The attempt to check Russian aggression by enforcing the neutrality of the Black Sea was frustrated by Russia's denunciation of the clause, by agreement with Bismarck, in 1870. The provision that the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be kept separate was even less enduring; three years after the treaty the principalities insisted on electing the same ruler, Alexander Couza; and in 1861 Turkey recognised Alexander as Prince of Rumania. And finally, the promise wrung from the Sultan that he would introduce reforms for his Christian subjects proved entirely useless. The Sultan went so far as to issue a decree in 1856 promising to Christians personal and religious freedom and equality of status. But no attempt was made to carry out these promises, and under Abdul Aziz (1861-76) Turkish misgovernment and oppression grew even more intolerable, until the outbreak of revolution in the subject provinces compelled a new intervention of the Powers.

The Bosnian Rebellion and the Bulgarian Atrocities. The trouble began in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the inhabitants of which, closely connected in race and language with the Serbians, looked with envy on the freedom of their kinsmen across the border. In 1875,

goaded by oppressive taxation, the peasants of this region broke into revolt and serious fighting took place. The three allied Powers (Germany, Austria and Russia), anxious to prevent a general conflagration, despatched the 'Andrassy Note' to the Sultan, demanding concessions for his Christian subjects; but Abdul Aziz, while nominally consenting, made the continuance of the revolt the pretext for refusing any reforms—a refusal partly prompted by the not altogether unjustified belief that England, whose policy was now directed by the pro-Turkish Disraeli, would protect him against the other European Powers. The revolt therefore spread. In May 1876 a rising took place in Bulgaria. But this was nearer home and could be more effectively dealt with. The Turkish Government let loose on the unfortunate Bulgars a horde of wild and savage irregulars, who perpetrated a series of appalling outrages, such as burning all the inhabitants of a Bulgarian village alive in their church. Altogether about 12,000 Christians perished in these massacres. When the news of these terrible events became known, a wave of indignation swept through Europe. Gladstone emerged from his retirement with the famous pamphlet, 'The Bulgarian Horrors,' in which he demanded the expulsion of the Turks from Bulgaria. 'Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible way, namely, by carrying away themselves. . . . One and all, bag and baggage, (they) shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned!' Even Disraeli could no longer openly support the Turkish cause. Furthermore, in the following month, Serbia and Montenegro had declared war against Turkey and the Serbs had been badly beaten. Russia, therefore, proposed to intervene on behalf of her fellow Slavs. In order to avert the danger, a conference of the Powers was summoned at Constantinople in December 1876. But meanwhile a change had taken place in the Turkish Government. The wily and unscrupulous Abdul Hamid II had become Sultan. The character of this man, perhaps the worst of a long line, was to play a large part in determining

the future fortunes of Turkey; his cruelty and treachery was to earn him such picturesque nicknames as 'the Great Assassin,' 'the Red Sultan,' and 'Abdul the Damned.' For the moment, however, he showed his astuteness by suddenly proclaiming a liberal Constitution, thus check-mating the Powers whose representatives had assembled at Constantinople, and the conference broke up without achieving anything. But the patience of Russia was becoming exhausted; everyone knew that the Sultan's promises were entirely meaningless, and in April 1877 Abdul Hamid rejected a last demand for reform. Russia, therefore, declared war.

The Russo-Turkish War (1877-8). The support of Rumania enabled the Russians to march troops across Wallachia and invade Bulgaria. In July the allies were held up by the gallant defence of Plevna by the one Turkish general of ability—Osman Pasha. But the Russians made a rapid advance in the Caucasus region, capturing the Armenian fortresses of Kars and Erzerum, and in December Plevna was taken. The Russians, continuing their advance towards Constantinople, captured Adrianople in January 1878. The terrified Turkish Government sued for peace and an armistice was arranged at the end of January, until the final peace terms should be decided. Those terms were embodied in the Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878). The treaty represented a settlement of the Balkan question according to Russian desires:

1. A great new State of Bulgaria was to be created, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean Sea and including practically all Macedonia (see map, page 197).

2. Serbia, Montenegro and Rumania were to be entirely independent of Turkey, and the first two were to receive additions of territory.

3. Russia was to retain the Armenian fortresses of Kars and Ardahan and to recover the portion of Bessarabia ceded to Rumania in 1856, Rumania being

compensated by gaining the Dobrudja (the Danube delta) from Turkey.

Such a settlement would have greatly weakened the Turkish Empire and would have established Russian predominance in the Balkans, since it was assumed that the new Bulgaria would be a dependency of Russia. England and Austria, therefore, refused to accept the settlement and England made preparations for war. Parliament voted £6,000,000 for emergency measures, and Disraeli ordered eight regiments of Indian troops to be sent to Malta. But Russia was in no condition to take on a war with England and Austria as well as Turkey, and the Czar had to give way. A conference of the European Powers was summoned to meet at Berlin and arrange a final settlement of the Balkan question.

The Congress of Berlin (1878). The conference duly assembled in June 1878 under the presidency of Bismarck, who had offered his services as the 'honest broker'—the disinterested party who would arbitrate between the disputants. But the outstanding figure at the Congress was undoubtedly Disraeli, who was to achieve the greatest diplomatic triumph of his career. He had already prepared the way by discreet negotiations with Russia and Turkey; negotiations in which Russia had agreed to the reduction of Bulgaria to a smaller size, provided that Russian territorial claims were admitted, and in which Turkey had agreed to let England have Cyprus in return for a British promise of protection. The negotiations, therefore, were fairly plain sailing, apart from a few minor diplomatic incidents, such as Disraeli's famous special train. The Treaty of Berlin, concluded in July 1878, modified that of San Stefano in several important respects.

It provided that:

1. Bulgaria was to be split up into three parts: Bulgaria proper was to be practically independent under its own ruler; the area south of this, known as Eastern Rumelia, was to be under Turkish sovereignty,

though with a Christian governor; and Macedonia was handed back unconditionally to Turkey.

2. The territorial gains of Serbia and Montenegro were reduced.

3. Russian gains remained as before—*i.e.* the part of Bessarabia lost in 1856 and the Armenian fortresses; and the arrangement by which Rumania was to receive the Dobrudja in exchange—a very poor bargain—was maintained.

4. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be administered by Austria, though under a nominal Turkish suzerainty.

5. Great Britain was to occupy Cyprus.

6. The Sultan promised to introduce reforms for the Christians of Armenia.

Disraeli returned home in triumph, claiming that he had secured 'Peace with Honour.' But in fact the Berlin settlement was a very poor affair; it satisfied nobody except perhaps Austria and England, and created as many problems as it solved. Russia was disgruntled at the comparatively poor return for her very decisive victory, and the antagonism of her interests with those of Austria in the Balkans was clearly demonstrated. Bulgaria was violently dissatisfied with her reduced status; the Greeks felt cheated because their claims on Crete and Thessaly were ignored. The placing of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austrian control marked the beginning of the antagonism of Austria and Serbia, which was to be the immediate cause of the Great War. And lastly, the part played by England destroyed her influence in Constantinople, and left the way clear for the establishment of that of Germany. In fact the whole policy pursued by England was wrong; if a barrier against Russian aggression in the Balkans was required, there could be, as Gladstone said, 'no better barrier than the breasts of freemen'—*i.e.* than a strong and united Bulgaria.



THE BALKANS: TREATY OF BERLIN, 1878

Russia and Bulgaria. The wisdom of this view was soon made apparent to British statesmen by events in Bulgaria. It seemed at first that the intention of Russia of establishing a complete ascendancy over the new State was to be realised. The ruler chosen, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, was a nephew of the Czar. The army was officered by Russians, and a Russian Prime Minister and Minister of War were appointed. But the Bulgarians soon resented this domination, and their resentment found a champion in the person of Stephen Stambuloff, who became President of the Parliament and the leading statesman in Bulgaria. In 1885 matters came to a head; the people of Eastern Rumelia threw off their allegiance to the Sultan and invited Alexander to become their ruler. Alexander, fearing Russian displeasure, hesitated; but Stambuloff warned him that he must either become the ruler of a united Bulgaria or lose his throne, and the union was carried through. The Czar, who now feared that Bulgaria was becoming too independent for Russian tastes, objected strongly to this increase in strength; but since Turkey accepted the situation he could do nothing. In the following year, however, Alexander was kidnapped by officers under Russian influence and taken to Russia. He was soon allowed to go back, but on his return proved too subservient to Russia for Stambuloff and his fellow-patriots, and was forced to abdicate. In his place the Bulgarian nationalists chose, in the teeth of Russian opposition, a German prince, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg. Ferdinand was soon to prove a capable and energetic ruler; but for the next few years Bulgaria was under the domination of Stambuloff, and looked to Austria and Germany for protection rather than to Russia.

Growing Influence of Central Powers. From the Russian point of view the Balkan situation was growing steadily worse. The Treaty of Berlin had established Austrian control over Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1883 Rumania made a treaty of alliance with Austria and Germany. And now Bulgaria was lost. Even the Slav state of Serbia,

under the kings of the Obrenovic line (Milan and Alexander) was little more than an Austrian dependency. It seemed possible that Austrian and German influence might oust that of Russia in the Balkans altogether. Furthermore, in the last years of the century, Germany began to establish her ascendancy in Constantinople itself. The confidants of William II cherished grandiose schemes of a 'Mittel-Europa' combination which, based upon the German-Austrian alliance, should extend its control through the Balkans to Constantinople, and even, perhaps, beyond to the Persian Gulf. The friendship of Abdul Hamid was therefore eagerly sought. It was to him that William II paid his first ceremonial visit; and in 1898 the Kaiser again visited Constantinople and made a tour of Palestine, proclaiming his friendship with the Sultan and his protection for 'the 300,000,000 Mohammedans who revered him as Kalif.' The outcome of this visit was the concession for the Bagdad railway, which was intended to link Berlin to the Persian Gulf, and which would have become, had it been completed, the most important strategic line of communication in the world. The construction of that railway was begun in 1904.

This, then, was the position in the Near East between the Congress of Berlin and the 'Young Turk' revolution. The Central Powers were quietly but steadily strengthening their influence, to the detriment of that of Russia; the Balkan States were developing nationalist ambitions which must, sooner or later, lead to fresh disturbances; the main lines of the Berlin settlement remained unaltered (apart from Bulgaria) merely because the intense jealousy between the Powers prevented any decisive move. The period could hardly be termed one of tranquillity—such incidents as the terrible massacre of Armenian Christians by the Turks (1894-6) and the Greco-Turkish War of 1897, in which the Greeks attempted unsuccessfully to appropriate Crete, illustrate the prevailing tension. It should rather be called one of suspense. Then suddenly the whole situation was thrown into turmoil by a revolution at Constantinople.

The Young Turk Revolution (1908). The rule of Abdul Hamid was proving intolerable to others beside his unfortunate Christian subjects. His extravagance and debauchery, his neglect of the army and navy, his refusal to introduce any efficiency or method into the government had raised against him strong opposition among the Turks themselves. A 'Committee of Union and Progress' was formed at Salonica, under the leadership of Enver Bey and others, to work for the overthrow of the old order. In July 1908 the Young Turks rose in rebellion and threatened to march on Constantinople. Abdul Hamid at once gave way, proclaimed a Constitution and summoned a parliament. Liberalism, it appeared, was to triumph even at Constantinople. The Sultan's conversion, of course, was neither sincere nor long lasting; early in the following year he attempted a counter-revolution which was defeated; and he was deposed in favour of his brother, who ascended the throne as Mohammed V. The only result of the Young Turk revolution was that the Turkish Government became more efficient; it was no less oppressive to its subject peoples and no less pro-German.

Meanwhile, however, the revolution had provided an excuse for upsetting the Berlin settlement. In October 1908 Ferdinand of Bulgaria threw off his allegiance to the Sultan and proclaimed himself 'Czar' of Bulgaria. And in the same month Austria announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The annexation created a very tense situation. Russia vigorously denounced the breach of the Berlin Treaty, and demanded a European conference; but Austria was strongly supported by Germany, and Russia, after her Japanese defeat, was in no condition to challenge the Central Powers. The Czar, therefore, gave way and recognised the situation with a very bad grace. To the Serbians the annexation was an even greater disaster. At one blow they saw all their hopes of bringing their Bosnian kinsmen under their rule annihilated. King Peter and his advisers were ready to fight. But without Russian support they could do nothing; and

they also had to recognise the annexation and to promise to live 'on good neighbourly terms' with Austria. That promise was soon to prove very difficult of fulfilment.

The Balkan Wars (1912-3). The Berlin settlement was now definitely on the scrap heap. Austria had given a lead, and Italy, the jackal of the Triple Alliance, decided to follow her example. She had long coveted Tripoli, the last remaining portion of the old Turkish Empire in Africa. In 1911 she seized her prey and a desultory war followed, in which the Turks succeeded in making things very awkward for the Italians, but failed to dislodge them. In the following year the emergence of a more pressing danger nearer home forced the Turkish government to make peace with Italy, and to acquiesce in the loss of Tripoli. For the Balkan kingdoms had resolved that they also should not be left out of the feast, and had drawn together in a common antagonism to Turkey. Turkish oppression in Macedonia provided them with an excuse, and Tripoli with an example. During the early part of 1912 treaties of alliance were negotiated between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece; and later Montenegro joined the confederacy. In October the four states demanded extensive reforms in Macedonia, and when their demands were refused declared war on Turkey. The Turkish army had been reorganised by a German officer, and their artillery had been supplied by the Krupp factories at Essen. But all this proved of no avail. The Turks suffered a series of disastrous defeats. Montenegrin troops overran Albania; the Serbians marched down into Macedonia and took Monastir; the Greeks invaded Macedonia from the south and captured Salonica; the Bulgars drove the Turks back in Thrace and besieged Adrianople. By the end of the year the Turks held nothing in Europe except the area round Constantinople and three besieged fortresses—Adrianople, Scutari (in Albania) and Janina. Once more the Turkish government had to surrender, and a conference was summoned in London to arrange terms of peace. While the conference

was sitting the Turks attempted to recover their lost possessions, but again they were defeated; the three fortresses were captured and Constantinople itself was in danger. Further resistance was hopeless, and the Turks had to agree to the Treaty of London (May 1913), by which they gave up all their European possessions except the area round Constantinople to the victorious allies.

But at this point dissension appeared among the allies themselves. At the London conference Austria had deprived Serbia, Greece and Montenegro of the spoils of victory by insisting on the creation of an independent state of Albania. Serbia and Greece therefore maintained that, since they had been cheated of their hopes in this quarter, Bulgaria could not have the large section of Macedonia which had been promised, and they formed an alliance to resist Bulgarian claims. Ferdinand of Bulgaria was encouraged to desperate measures by Austria, which was anxious to break up the Balkan League. In June he suddenly attacked Serbia, and the Second Balkan War began. Once more the *protégé* of the Central Powers was defeated. The Bulgarian forces were driven back by the Serbs and Greeks; and Rumania, hoping to wrest the southern portion of the Dobrudja from Bulgaria, attacked from the north. At the same time the Turks roused themselves to recover Adrianople. Attacked on all sides, Ferdinand was compelled to surrender. By the Treaty of Bucharest (August 1913) Bulgaria lost the Southern Dobrudja to Rumania, and Macedonia (with the exception of a small eastern section) to Serbia and Greece; while the Turks retained possession of Adrianople. Thus as a final result of the Balkan Wars, while Serbia and Greece made large and valuable gains, and even Rumania profited considerably, Bulgaria was deprived of most of the territory which she considered rightfully hers. Even from this point of view the Treaty of Bucharest could hardly be regarded as more than a truce.

Serajevo (June 28th, 1914). But the wars had repercussions far beyond the Balkans. In effect the whole



THE BALKANS: TREATY OF BUCHAREST, 1913

balance of power in Europe had been upset. The Central Powers had had to stand by and see first one and then the other of their *protégés* crushingly defeated. The Turkish Empire, over which they had striven so hard to establish their control, was almost annihilated as far as Europe was concerned. Serbia, now the faithful adherent of Russia, had gained a great increase of strength, and was in a position to frustrate completely Austrian hopes for the acquisition of Salonica or German aspirations for the domination of the Near East. Worst of all, the triumph of Serbia had powerfully stimulated southern Slav nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had led the inhabitants of those provinces to strive for union with Serbia. Thus to Austria the Treaty of Bucharest represented a defeat which must somehow be wiped out. The Austrian Chief of Staff, Conrad von Hötzendorf, continually preached the necessity of a war of annihilation against Serbia; and the Austrian Foreign Minister, Berchtold, gradually inclined to the same view. A war between Austria and Serbia, like the Franco-Prussian War, might be said to lie 'in the logic of history.' And then there came like a thunderclap the news of the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne by a Bosnian Serb. Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the aged Emperor Francis Joseph, was due to pay a state visit to Serajevo, capital of Bosnia, in June 1914. A group of Bosnian fanatics, who had been expelled from Bosnia and had taken refuge in Belgrade, plotted his assassination with a secret terrorist society in the Serbian capital—the 'Black Hand.' On Sunday, June 28th, the Imperial heir arrived in Serajevo; and as he drove through the streets three revolver shots rang out. The Archduke and his wife were dead. For that crime the lives of ten million men were to atone.

PART V

THE GREAT WAR AND AFTER

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GREAT WAR

Causes of the Great War. At first sight it might appear hardly credible that the assassination of an Austrian Archduke by a Bosnian Serb might involve the whole world in war. To explain fully why this was so, to assign responsibility for the catastrophe, is beyond our present scope. Roughly speaking, it would be true to say that the whole trend of European history since 1870 was the cause of the Great War; and the preceding six chapters have illustrated the different forces making for a conflict.

Here we can only summarise briefly. First, then, as we have already noted, the Serajevo murder was the spark which set fire to the smouldering antagonism of Austria and Serbia; it represented to Austria an opportunity for ending the Serbian menace once for all. But behind that lay the wider issue of Austro-Russian rivalry in the Near East, the struggle for the domination of the Balkans which had begun at the Congress of Berlin, and which had been accentuated by the Bulgarian question, the annexation of Bosnia and the Balkan Wars. Behind that, again, lay the great system of European alliances, which bound France to Russia, and Germany to Austria, and which divided Europe into two hostile camps, each arming furiously against the other, and dreading lest, for one moment, the other group should acquire a political or military superiority. And behind that system of alliances lay, as we have shown earlier, the struggle of rival imperialisms, the ceaseless

conflict for markets and raw materials, expressing itself in the Moroccan crises, in the formation of the Triple Entente, in the naval rivalry of Germany and England, in the Berlin-Bagdad railway scheme. Thus it was that a conflict which involved one great Power must inevitably involve all the others; and thus, although no statesman actually wanted a general war in 1914, the nations of Europe, in Lloyd George's expressive phrase, 'staggered and stumbled into war.' To talk of the responsibility of one country or of one statesman under conditions such as these is meaningless.

After Serajevo (July-August 1914). For the first few weeks after the tragedy the atmosphere, though tense, remained fairly calm. The statesmen of Europe were away on holiday, the Kaiser was cruising peacefully in the Baltic. But the storm was gathering unseen. Early in July the Austrian Government approached Germany with an enquiry as to her attitude in the event of an Austro-Serb conflict. On July 5th William II pledged his country to unconditional support of Austria; 'The Emperor Francis Joseph may rest assured that His Majesty will stand faithfully by Austria-Hungary, as is required by the obligation of his alliance and his ancient friendship'—so ran the telegram from the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, to the German Ambassador in Vienna. Fortified by this guarantee, the Austrian government prepared to make demands upon Serbia of so drastic a nature that they could not easily be accepted. On July 23rd the Austrian ultimatum was presented to the Serbian government, with a demand for acceptance within forty-eight hours.

The Note demanded that Serbia should suppress all anti-Austrian propaganda, that she should hold an immediate investigation into the conspiracy, and that she should admit Austrian representatives to take part in the investigation. Serbia returned a conciliatory reply, but was not prepared to submit to the domination of Austrian officials. On July 28th, therefore, Austria declared war on Serbia. Even now Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Secretary, strove

to find a peaceful solution, by getting the question brought before a European Conference. But it was too late. The Czar, having delivered a plain warning that he would not stand by and see Serbia crushed, ordered a general mobilisation on July 30th. The following day the German Government issued an ultimatum to Russia demanding demobilisation, and to France calling for a promise of neutrality. Both were refused; on August 1st Germany declared war on Russia, and France mobilised; on the 3rd Germany declared war on France.

England was still officially neutral; but on the 2nd, Germany had sent an ultimatum to Belgium demanding free passage for her troops. To the English Government, already half-committed to the support of France, this was the last straw. Quite apart from the sanctity of treaties, from the 'scrap of paper' of 1839, which bore the signatures of England and of Prussia, the independence of Belgium was a cardinal feature of English foreign policy. For this Marlborough had fought Louis XIV, and Wellington had defeated Napoleon. On August 4th, therefore, England demanded from Germany a definite promise not to violate Belgian neutrality; and when this was refused, England came into the war. All the Great Powers were now involved, except Italy, who excused her betrayal of the Triple Alliance by the plea that aggressive action by Austria and Germany entitled her to remain neutral. Other states were soon swept into the maelstrom; Japan entered the war on the side of the Entente at the end of August, and in October Turkey joined the Central Powers.

The German Plan of Campaign. The outbreak of war found Germany fully prepared, and ready with a clear-cut plan of campaign. As early as 1905 Count Schlieffen, then German Chief of Staff, had worked out a scheme for conducting war on two fronts. Counting on the slowness of Russian mobilisation, he had determined to deliver a smashing blow against France in the west while holding the Russians with a thin screen of troops; and then, having crushed French resistance, to deal with the eastern enemy

in his turn. To attack across the Franco-German frontier was impracticable, since the French border from Luxembourg to Switzerland was strongly fortified. The 'Schlieffen Plan' therefore proposed that the main part of the German army—the right wing—should invade France from Belgium and should sweep round in a great semicircle behind Paris, driving the French on to their eastern frontier, where they would be trapped between two enemy forces. The plan was brilliant and daring, but it depended for its successful execution on an overwhelming concentration of German forces on the right wing. Unfortunately for Germany, the carrying out of the scheme was entrusted to Schlieffen's successor, the younger von Moltke, who had neither the courage nor the ability of his great namesake, and who lacked the nerve to risk everything for a decisive victory. The detachment of portions of the German army to mask Antwerp and to strengthen the eastern frontier made possible the checking of the German advance in the west, and lost Germany the war.

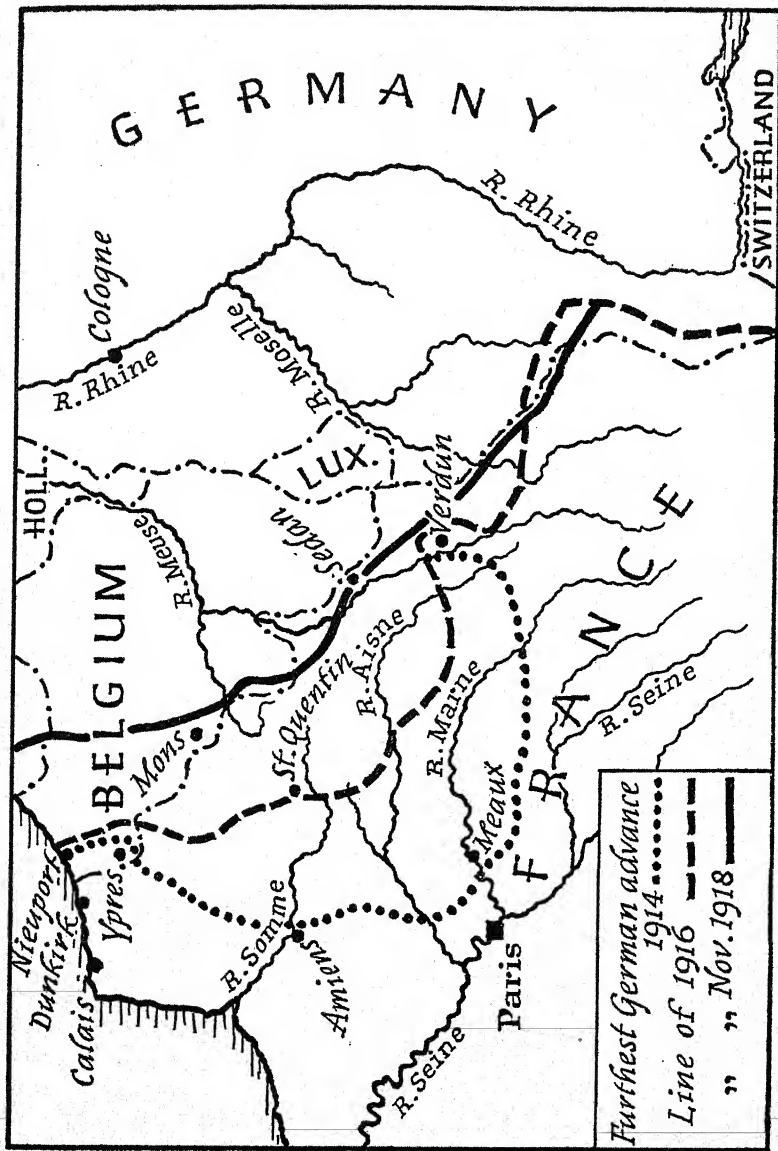
The Battle of the Marne. At first, however, everything went according to plan. On August 4th the German armies invaded Belgium and moved on Liège, the key of the Belgian defences. The last fortress of Liège fell on August 15th; on the 20th, Brussels was taken, and the Belgian army fell back to Antwerp; on the 23rd the great fortress of Namur fell, and the way into France was open. The French commander-in-chief, Joffre, had meanwhile been conducting a futile and costly attack on the strong German positions in Lorraine; but now, realising the danger, he rushed forces northwards to link up with the small British Expeditionary Force which had landed in France under the command of Sir John French. But the pressure of the German advance was irresistible. The British were driven back from Mons, and the French from Charleroi; the fall of Paris seemed certain, and the French Government fled to Bordeaux. But at last, on September 6th, the Allies made a stand on the line of the river Marne, east of Paris, nerved to a supreme effort by Joffre's order, 'to die rather than give

way.' For three days the Germans hammered at the Allies' position; but the line remained unbroken. The Battle of the Marne (September 6th-9th) ranks as one of the decisive battles of the world. Paris was saved; the German advance was stopped; and the Schlieffen plan had failed. A vigorous counter-attack drove the Germans back to the Aisne, where they took up a strong defensive position, stretching from Soissons to the impregnable fortress of Verdun.

The Western Front (1914-5). The next phase of the western campaign was the 'race to the sea,' in which the Allies tried to outflank the German position, while the Germans strove to obtain possession of the Channel Ports (Dunkirk and Calais). The race ended in a draw; the Germans took Antwerp, but the Allied line reached the sea at Nieuport, in front of Dunkirk, and the Channel Ports were saved. A tremendous German effort to break through the British line at Ypres (October-November 1914) failed, and the campaign settled down into an interminable trench-warfare along a 400-mile front, stretching from the Belgian coast to the frontier of Switzerland. The war of movement gave place to a 'war of attrition' in which each side exhausted itself, drained away its man-power, and strained its munition-producing capacity to the utmost in a hopeless but never-abandoned attempt to 'break through.'

The year 1915 is marked by a long series of these 'battles' glorious and tragic in memory, but utterly barren of military effect: the British attacks at Neuve Chapelle and Hill 60 (March and April); the second German offensive at Ypres, in which poison-gas was first used, with appalling effect (April); the French attacks in Champagne in February and September; the costly battle of Loos (September), in which the British gained one mile of front with the loss of 50,000 men, and in consequence of which Sir John French was superseded by Haig as British commander-in-chief. Despite all these efforts, the stalemate in the West remained at the end of 1915 more complete than ever.

The Eastern Front (1914-5). In the east, things moved



THE WESTERN FRONT

more rapidly; but the ultimate consequence was the same. Russia had mobilised much more rapidly than was expected; and in August two large armies invaded East Prussia. To meet this danger a retired German general—Hindenburg—was called upon to take command in the east, and he was given as his Chief of Staff the most brilliant of all the German commanders—Erich von Ludendorff. These two met and defeated the first Russian army in a great battle at Tannenberg (August 26th–29th), in which the Russians lost a quarter of a million men; the second army was defeated at the Masurian Lakes, and the Russians were driven back out of East Prussia.

In the south, however, a third Russian army scored a resounding success, capturing the fortress of Lemberg and conquering the whole of Galicia, the Austrian portion of Poland. German reinforcements succeeded in stopping the Russian advance, and by the end of the year the war in the east had resulted in a deadlock similar to that on the Western Front.

Early in 1915 Falkenhayn, who had succeeded Moltke as the German commander-in-chief after the battle of the Marne, decided to stand on the defensive in the west, and to deliver a crushing blow in the east, which would put Russia out of the war. The attempt very nearly succeeded. In May 1915 a terrific attack was launched on the Russian positions in Galicia. The Russians were driven back with heavy losses, Lemberg was captured and Galicia was reconquered. Then, in August, the drive continued into Russian Poland. Warsaw was taken and the Russians driven out of Poland altogether. When the German advance was finally halted, the Russians had lost four hundred miles of territory and 400,000 prisoners. The Czar Nicholas II himself assumed supreme command, and the Russians took up a new position on a line stretching from Riga through the Pripet Marshes to the border of Rumania. The chief cause of this terrible defeat was the complete exhaustion of Russian armaments and munitions, and the failure to obtain any supplies from the Western



THE EASTERN FRONT

Powers. For that failure the situation in the Near East was responsible, and it is to this theatre of war that we must now turn.

The Near East. The war in the Balkans had opened promisingly for the Allies. The small but valiant Serbian army had twice driven back the Austrians from Belgrade with great loss, and down to the end of 1914 Serbia had preserved her independence. But in the October of that year Turkey had joined the Central Powers, and her entry into the war proved a very great advantage to Germany and Austria. It prevented them from being besieged in Central Europe; it bottled up the Black Sea and cut Russia off from the Western Powers; and it threatened England's imperial communications. British Ministers like Churchill and Lloyd George fully realised the Turkish danger, and strongly urged the necessity of a vital blow at the Turkish Empire. But the British commanders in France were too absorbed by the idea of 'breaking through' in the west to spare large numbers of men for 'side-shows'; and the two expeditions undertaken against Turkey in 1915 both ended in disastrous failure.

Gallipoli. The first and most promising of these was an attempt to seize the Dardanelles, and to open the way to the Black Sea. Had this project succeeded, it would have materially altered the course of the war. It would have paralysed Turkey, facilitated the supply of munitions to Russia, and so prevented the great defeat of 1915, opened up the wheat supplies of Southern Russia to the Allies, and kept the Balkan States, if not friendly, at least neutral. But the scheme was hopelessly mismanaged. As the military chiefs refused to spare troops, a naval attack on the Dardanelles was undertaken in February. Even this came within an inch of success; but the failure to silence the inner forts and the discovery of mines in the channel led the British naval commander to call off the attack. The Turks were now given ample warning to fortify the Gallipoli peninsula, which commands the straits; and when finally a military expedition was sent to attack the peninsula

(April), it was found impossible to do more than gain a foothold on the extreme western edge. Even now prompt reinforcements might have saved the situation; but reinforcements were not sent until August; and by that time the German commander, Liman von Sanders, ably assisted by one Mustapha Kemal, who here achieved his first distinction, had perfected their defences. The second attack also failed, and at the end of the year the British troops were withdrawn. The expedition cost us 120,000 casualties and destroyed British prestige in the Near East.

Mesopotamia. The other attack upon Turkey—the Mesopotamian campaign—proved equally unsuccessful. Soon after the outbreak of the war a body of Anglo-Indian troops had landed at Basra, in the Persian Gulf, in order to safeguard British communications with India and to protect British oil supplies. In September 1915 these troops, under the command of General Townshend, advanced up the Tigris-Euphrates valley, captured Kut-el-Amara and advanced on Bagdad. In November, however, Townshend was checked by a superior Turkish force, and fell back to Kut, where he was besieged through the winter of 1915-6; a relieving expedition failed to break through, and in April 1916 Townshend surrendered with the remnant of his starving garrison. Throughout the remainder of the year the British were able to do no more than maintain a foothold in Mesopotamia. Early in 1917, however, a second British expedition, under Sir Stanley Maude, avenged the disaster by recapturing Kut and driving the Turks out of Bagdad.

Defeat of Serbia. Meanwhile, the Allied cause had suffered a very heavy blow in the Balkans. The crushing defeat of Russia in the autumn of 1915 had convinced the wavering Ferdinand of Bulgaria that the Central Powers were bound to win, and he had thrown in his lot with Germany. His support made possible a final reckoning with Serbia. In October 1915 that unfortunate country was simultaneously attacked by a Bulgarian force from the East and an Austro-German army from the North. An

Allied expedition was sent to Salonica, but it was too late. By November Serbia had been conquered, and the remnant of the Serbian army, after a nightmare march through the Albanian Mountains, had reached the coast, where they were transported by Allied ships to Corfu. Meanwhile a large Anglo-French army was held up at Salonica, prevented by the Bulgarians from doing anything effective and contemptuously described by the Germans as 'their largest internment camp.'

The only ray of light which pierced the darkness of 1915 for the Allies was the fact that in May, Italy, bribed by the promise of the Trentino, Trieste and the Southern Tyrol, had come in on their side. But even this reinforcement proved less valuable than was hoped. The Italians, intent on getting their share of the spoils at once, fought a long and indecisive war on the Alpine frontier of Austria, along the line of the River Isonzo, a war in which Italy exhausted her strength and man-power without gaining any important military advantage, save the detaining of Austrian troops which might have been used elsewhere.

1916—Verdun and the Somme. The strain of eighteen months' continuous warfare was beginning to tell very heavily on both sides, and the year 1916 witnessed a gigantic effort by each side in turn to end the war by a decisive victory in the west. Conscription was adopted in England early in the year, and Falkenhayn decided to smash the French resistance before the new army could be ready. In February, therefore, he launched a tremendous attack on the great French fortress of Verdun. The battle for Verdun raged on throughout the spring and summer, until every yard of the disputed territory was soaked in blood. But Verdun was untaken; and in June the German command was compelled to abandon the attempt by a successful Russian attack in the east.

The battle of Verdun was followed by a huge British offensive on the Somme (July–November 1916), which proved the costliest single battle of the war—both sides lost something like 600,000 men. An enormous concentra-

tion of artillery and the use of a new weapon—the tank—enabled the British to gain a few miles. But the German line remained unbroken, and the military result hardly justified so vast an expenditure of man-power and of ammunition. Yet the battle of the Somme demonstrated for the first time the full power of the British fighting machine, and brought the German army to the edge of absolute exhaustion.

1916—The Eastern Front. In the East, meanwhile, events were moving rapidly again. In June Brussiloff, the ablest of the Russian commanders, made a powerful and successful attack upon the Austrian line from the Pripet Marshes to the Rumanian frontier. The Austrians were driven far back into Galicia, and lost nearly half a million men in prisoners and dead. But in August reserves rushed by Ludendorff to the Eastern Front stopped the Russian advance; and this temporary success was soon offset by an even greater triumph for the Central Powers. The Russian advance had encouraged Rumania to take sides with the Allies and to declare war. But Russia was unable to send reinforcements, and the Rumanians were exposed to a simultaneous attack by two German armies, operating under Mackensen, the hero of the 1915 victory, and Falkenhayn, who had now been superseded by Hindenburg and Ludendorff in the supreme command. By the end of the year the whole of Rumania had been conquered, except a small portion of Moldavia; and her rich oilfields and wheat-lands had gone to strengthen the Central Powers.

The War at Sea (1914-6). One other outstanding event of the year 1916 remains to be mentioned—the vindication of British naval supremacy. Owing to the prescience of Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the war opened with the British fleet fully mobilised and ready for action. Within a few months England's command of the seas had been fully established. The main German fleet was cooped up in harbour at Heligoland and Kiel. Isolated raiders like the famous *Emden* inflicted a certain

amount of damage on Allied shipping, but they were soon rounded up and sunk. The only important German naval force at sea was the Pacific squadron, under Admiral von Spee, which escaped from Kiao-chau, crossed the Pacific and defeated a smaller British squadron off Coronel, on the west coast of South America (November 1914). But in the following month the squadron was caught and sunk by a stronger British force at the Battle of Falkland Islands, and by the end of the year the seas were swept clear of German warships.

On May 31st, 1916, Great Britain's command of the seas was challenged for the first and last time. The German High Seas Fleet, under the command of Admiral von Scheer, emerged from harbour and came into contact with the vanguard of the British fleet under Admiral Beatty. A running fight ensued, in which Beatty lost two battle-cruisers but drew the Germans on towards the main British fleet, approaching under Jellicoe. At this point a decisive British victory might have been expected, since Jellicoe possessed twenty-four Dreadnoughts to von Scheer's sixteen. But fog and the approach of nightfall prevented a general engagement, and during the night the German admiral escaped and returned safely to harbour. The Germans claimed a victory—not without reason, since they had inflicted twice as much damage as they had received. But the final outcome of the Battle of Jutland was that the German fleet remained in harbour until the end of the war, and the British command of the seas was unshaken.

The importance of British sea-power in the war lay not in any decisive victory, but in the steady pressure of the blockade which naval supremacy enabled Great Britain to maintain on the enemy's coasts, a blockade which produced something like starvation in Germany, and which gradually wore down civilian resistance. Indeed it would be true to say that the Central Powers were rather starved into surrender than defeated.

Apart from the blockade, naval supremacy brought other advantages to the allied cause. It facilitated the transport

of troops, especially of colonial forces from the French and British possessions. It kept open the supplies of food and raw materials. And it enabled the Allies to conquer the German Colonies. Kiao-chau was taken by the Japanese at the beginning of the war, and the African colonies were all conquered, with the exception of a portion of German East Africa, by the end of 1915.

The Submarine Campaign. Since British sea-power could not be shaken by direct attack, the Germans were forced to resort to another weapon—the submarine. As early as February 1915 Germany announced that all shipping would be sunk in a large zone surrounding the British Isles. But the torpedoing of American ships and, above all, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the loss of over a thousand lives, including 114 Americans (May 1915) brought a sharp protest from the United States; and in consequence submarine warfare was modified. At the beginning of 1917, however, the German command, despairing of a decisive military victory, resolved upon unrestricted submarine warfare, which, they were convinced, would bring Great Britain to her knees within six months, even if America should decide to intervene. The declaration of unrestricted warfare (*i.e.*, sinking of all ships at sight) produced the second result without the first. President Wilson, who had been struggling hard to maintain a benevolent neutrality, with the hope of ultimate mediation, now gave up the attempt and declared war on Germany in April 1917. The intervention of the United States not only ensured the overwhelming ultimate superiority of the Allies in man-power; it also assisted Great Britain to overcome the submarine menace. At first the prospect had looked black for England; nearly four million tons of shipping were sunk in the first half of 1917, and at one point England was within six weeks of the end of her food supplies. But with the aid of convoys for merchant shipping, in which the American fleet played a large part, with the aid of depth-charges and decoy ships, the submarine menace was overcome; by the end of 1917 it had ceased

to be a serious danger. The attempt to starve England out had failed; and meanwhile the prospect of American reinforcements strengthened the Allies' morale and stiffened their resistance. Such encouragement was desperately needed, for elsewhere things were going very badly for the Western Powers. The year 1917 saw one of their main allies put completely out of action, and the other hurled back in defeat.

The Russian Revolution (1917). By the beginning of 1917 Russia had reached the end of her tether. In the field the supply of arms and ammunition had given out, the troops were starving and mutinous, and the losses had been appalling. At home matters were even worse; the assumption of supreme command by Nicholas II left the control of the Government in the hands of the Czarina, who was completely dominated by the depraved and rascally peasant-mystic Rasputin. Government was inefficient and chaotic, and it was even believed that there was treason and sabotage in high places. Rasputin was murdered by a group of princes in December 1916, but only to be succeeded by a reactionary and incapable favourite of the Czarina.

Finally, in March 1917, strikes and rioting broke out in Petrograd; the troops sided with the rebels, and the Czarist Government collapsed with hardly a blow. On March 15th Nicholas II abdicated, and a Provisional Government was set up under the leadership of a Liberal, Prince Lvov. Shortly afterwards, Kerensky, a Socialist orator and the most influential member of the Government, overthrew his colleagues, and seized supreme power. But now anarchy had broken loose in Russia; the peasants seized the land, workers occupied the factories, the troops at the front mutinied, shot their officers and hurried home. In all this chaos there was one party which knew exactly what it wanted and was determined to get it—the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, who had been sent home through Germany in a sealed train, and Trotsky, who had hurried back from exile in America. The Bolsheviks, with their programme of immediate peace, land to the peasants and the dictatorship

of the proletariat, gained ever-growing support among the war-weary and land-hungry people. In November they were strong enough to overthrow the 'Girondin' Kerensky and establish a dictatorship.

In fulfilment of the first of their pledges they made an armistice with the Central Powers, and met with Austrian and German representatives to discuss terms of peace. Russia was in no position to haggle over terms, and the Bolsheviks were compelled to accept the harsh and extortionate Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3rd, 1918), by which Russia was stripped of all that she had gained since the time of Peter the Great—the Ukraine, Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia—and lost a quarter of her population.

The Collapse of Italy and the War in the West (1917). Meanwhile disaster had also befallen the other ally of the Western Powers—Italy. Since her entry into the war in 1915, Italy had kept up an indecisive war on the Austrian Alpine frontier. Now, strengthened by the retirement of Russia from the war, the German Command prepared a tremendous onslaught on the Italian positions. In October a sudden attack was launched at Caporetto, on the Isonzo front. The Italian line was completely broken, and the Italians hurled back into Italy, until the line of the River Piave was reached. Here, fortified by Allied reinforcements, the Italians made a desperate stand and succeeded in halting the German advance. But the defeat was a severe blow to the Allied cause.

Nor was the situation in the west much more encouraging. During 1917 Ludendorff, who was now the effective head of the German armies, decided to stand on the defensive on the Western front, trusting to the submarine campaign to force England into surrender. The Germans therefore retired to the strongly fortified 'Hindenburg Line.' Against this strong defence the Allied offensives were launched in vain. In April Nivelle, now Commander-in-Chief of the French armies, made a great attack upon the new German position. But the attack was repulsed with such losses

that mutiny broke out amongst the French troops. Nivelle was promptly replaced by Pétain, who succeeded in restoring the morale of the army. But the efficiency of the French fighting machine was seriously impaired. In the autumn followed the disastrous British offensive at Passchendaele, in Flanders; the best of the British forces were sent forward to attack an enormously strong position over ground which rain and bombardment had turned into a sea of liquid mud. The casualties were appalling; the British lost 10,000 men in a single day; whether the slight ensuing gain justified the colossal expenditure of life is a point perhaps best left to generals to determine; but the exhaustion of British man-power undoubtedly contributed to the success of the German offensives in the following year.

The Russian revolution, Caporetto, the Passchendaele failure and the submarine menace made 1917 a very dark year for Great Britain. One ray lightened the gloom—the brilliant success of Allenby in Palestine. Aided by the Arab 'Revolt in the Desert' engineered and organised by that most brilliant and romantic of all War characters, Col. T. E. Lawrence, Allenby advanced into Palestine in the autumn of 1917, and rounded off a whirlwind campaign by conquering Jerusalem in December. Cheered by this success and reinvigorated by the dauntless confidence of Clemenceau, with his famous slogan 'je fais la guerre!', the Allies prepared grimly to hold on until the coming of the Americans should make possible the deciding stroke.

The Last German Offensive (1918). The German Command, for their part, also realised that the coming of the Americans meant inevitable defeat, and that the superiority in man-power which the release of troops from the Eastern front gave them could only be temporary. They therefore resolved to make one last supreme effort for victory. The German offensive of 1918 will always remain a magnificent tribute to the courage and endurance of the German people; it came within sight of success and brought the Allies to the very limit of their resistance. The offensive

began in March 1918 with a tremendous attack on the southern portion of the British line near St Quentin, held by the Fifth Army under General Gough. The British were hurled back over the Somme, and the German drive was only stopped within twenty miles of Amiens. In April Ludendorff struck again—this time further north, in the Armentières sector. Here also the British and Portuguese forces were defeated, and a deep salient was driven into the Allied line. In May a third attack was launched on the French position along the Chemin des Dames, and the Germans advanced as far as Château Thierry, within a few miles of Paris.

But now the great drive was at an end; under the pressure of disaster the Allied forces had been put under the supreme control of Foch, the ablest of the Allied commanders; and the fresh and confident American troops were beginning to pour in. In July Ludendorff's last great attack on the Marne was held; and immediately Foch counter-attacked with all the weight of the Allied forces. From July to October a series of terrific hammer-blows drove the Germans back in defeat all along the line. The British forces attacked in Flanders and Picardy, the French on the Aisne, the Americans along the valley of the Meuse. The 'Hindenburg Line' was stormed, and in the beginning of November the Americans reached the French frontier at Sedan.

The Armistice. Even now the Germans were capable of fighting a prolonged defensive action; but Germany's resistance was broken by the crushing defeat of her allies. In September an Allied force, advancing from Salonica, had smashed the Bulgarian army and forced Bulgaria to conclude an armistice. At the same time Allenby had destroyed the Turkish army in Palestine and captured Damascus; and Turkey was compelled to retire from the war. In October an Italian offensive on the Piave had routed the Austrians with tremendous loss; on November 4th Austria too surrendered. Then, while exhausted and broken German troops prepared to defend the frontier,

revolution broke out at home. Already, in October, a new liberal Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, had been appointed to seek terms of peace from the Allies; but matters were taken out of his hands. On November 4th the German fleet, when ordered out to sea, mutinied; the mutiny was the signal for revolution all over Germany. The Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland, and a new government under the ex-saddler and Socialist leader, Ebert, was set up. This government had no choice but to accept the merciless armistice terms dictated by Foch: the Germans were to surrender their fleet, their prisoners and most of their armaments, and were to retire behind the Rhine, which was to be occupied by the Allies. The German commissioners bowed their heads and signed. On the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month silence fell upon Europe; and the 'monstrous anger of the guns' was stilled.

CHAPTER XXIV

EUROPE SINCE THE WAR (1918-39)

The Peace Conference. In January 1919 there opened at Paris the most cosmopolitan and the most momentous conference in the history of the world. Paris was thronged with the representatives of nearly all the nations of the earth, come to claim their share or defend their interests in the great resettlement of the world's political geography. Yet the babel of strange languages and the splendour of outlandish costumes could not conceal the fact that at the Paris Conference, as at Vienna a century before, the real power of decision lay with a little group of statesmen representing the victorious Great Powers. The very constitution of the conference revealed the fact; the full sittings of all delegates were purely formal, and merely signified consent of something already decided upon. The real work was done behind the scenes, by the 'Council of Ten,' consisting of the Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and meeting secretly; and this was soon replaced by the 'Council of Four,' one of whom, Orlando, the Italian representative, had comparatively little influence. The Paris settlement was really the work of the other three—President Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau; and its character was determined by the qualities and ideas which each brought to the Conference—by Wilson's lofty but somewhat vague idealism, by Clemenceau's vindictive determination to punish Germany and destroy her power in Europe for ever, by Lloyd George's desire to reconcile a reasonable and statesmanlike settlement with the raving revengefulness of a House of Commons elected on the twin slogans of 'Hang the Kaiser!' and 'Make

Germany pay!' If the arrangements made at Paris are condemned, these facts, and the hysterical, war-fevered atmosphere of the French capital, must be borne in mind.

The Peace Treaties. The task that these men had to face was certainly one of extraordinary difficulty. The whole political structure of Europe had been shaken to the foundations; the two oldest and greatest empires—the Austro-Hungarian and the Russian—had been shattered by revolution; a number of minor wars were still going on between the rival claimants to their remains. Nor were the hands of the statesmen free. On the one hand, they were tied by secret treaties such as that made with Italy at London in 1915, and the arrangements made concerning the partition of the Turkish Empire. On the other, there were Wilson's famous 'Fourteen Points,' announced at the beginning of 1918, and accepted by Germany at the Armistice as the basis of their surrender. The Fourteen Points had laid down the principles of a future peace; amongst the provisions were: 'Open covenants of peace openly arrived at,' general disarmament, the settlement of colonial claims with consideration for the subject peoples, the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the restoration of Belgium and Serbia, independence for the subject peoples of the Hapsburg Empire and for the Poles, and, above all, the establishment of a general association of nations for the purpose of avoiding future wars. It was for the statesmen to try to reconcile these ideals with the secret treaties and with the actual facts of the situation in front of them. The terms of the settlement are contained in four treaties, named after the suburbs of Paris—Versailles (with Germany), St Germain (with Austria), Trianon (with Hungary), and Neuilly (with Bulgaria); but it will be more convenient to summarise the settlement as a single whole.

The Redrawing of the Map. The treatment afforded to defeated Germany was in many respects the hardest part of the settlement. On the Western frontier Germany



EUROPE AFTER VERSAILLES, 1919
(NEW STATES SHADED)

restored Alsace-Lorraine to France, and ceded Eupen-Malmédy to Belgium; she was compelled to demilitarise the Rhineland for a depth of 50 kilometres, and the Rhineland area was to be occupied by Allied troops; the Saar basin—one of Germany's greatest coalfields—was placed under an international commission for the next fifteen years, and meanwhile its coal mines were handed over to France. In the east she lost West Prussia and Posen to Poland, which thus had a long 'corridor' to the sea, separating East Prussia from the rest of Germany; and the richest industrial section of Upper Silesia was also given to Poland. In the north, after a plebiscite, Northern Schleswig was given to Denmark.

The old Hapsburg Empire of Austria-Hungary, which had been a dominant power in Europe since the sixteenth century, was already disrupted by revolution; it was now effaced from the map of Europe. In the north, Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia were combined together in the new Slav state of Czechoslovakia, but the need for a defensible frontier led to the inclusion in this State of three million Austrian Germans—with what sad consequences we now know; while Austrian Galicia was handed over to the resurrected Poland. Southwards, the provinces of Croatia and Slavonia, together with the recently acquired area of Bosnia-Herzegovina, were joined with Serbia and Montenegro to form the kingdom of Yugoslavia. To the west the Italian provinces of Trentino and Trieste, with the purely German Southern Tyrol, were ceded to Italy; while in the east the great province of Transylvania was given to Rumania. All that was left of the once mighty empire was the tiny landlocked state of Austria, consisting of only six million inhabitants (two million of whom lived in Vienna), and the fragment of Hungary, reduced to a population of eight millions.

Bulgaria, the third of the defeated Powers, had also to suffer severe losses of territory. The portion of Macedonia which she had retained after the Balkan Wars was handed over to Greece, and the whole of the Dobrudja was ceded

to Rumania. Bulgaria became, with the exception of Albania, the weakest of the Balkan States.

A settlement with defeated Turkey was also attempted at the Treaty of Sèvres (1920). By this treaty Turkey was to lose all her European territory except Constantinople, and all her outlying provinces—Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria, Armenia, Arabia; Smyrna was to be given to Greece, and Turkey was to be confined to the highlands of Anatolia. But the heroic national revival of the Turks under Mustapha Kemal and their victorious campaign against the Greeks compelled a revision of these terms. By the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Turkey regained Eastern Thrace (including Adrianople), Smyrna and Armenia and a strong purely Turkish State came into existence.

Reparations and the Disarmament of Germany. But the territorial arrangements, harsh though they were, were not the worst blow suffered by defeated Germany. The Treaty of Versailles provided that Germany was to be practically disarmed. Her army was to consist of not more than 100,000 men, conscription was abolished, and her navy was strictly limited. All her colonies were to be handed over to the victorious Powers, under the 'Mandate' system, by which the recipients were to hold them 'in trust' under the supervision of the League of Nations. Togoland and the Cameroons went mainly to France, German East Africa (Tanganyika) to Great Britain, German South-West Africa to the Union of South Africa, New Guinea to Australia, and Samoa to New Zealand. Above all, Germany had to accept full responsibility for the War: 'The Allied and Associated Governments affirm, and Germany accepts, the responsibility of Germany and her Allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her Allies.' And Germany was therefore to stand the burden of the Allies' losses. The amount of reparation due was finally assessed by an international commission at the colossal

sum of £6,600,000,000—an amount far greater than the exhausted and impoverished country could possibly pay. With the successive attempts of the Allies to enforce payment of reparations, and their ultimate failure, we shall deal later. Here we need only note that it was this section of the Treaty—the stain of war-guilt, the humiliation of disarmament, and the burden of war indemnity—which poisoned and embittered the spirit of the entire German people.

The League of Nations. One other outstanding feature of the Paris settlement remains to be described—the establishment of the League of Nations. This institution was due primarily to the idealism of President Wilson, though others—Lord Robert Cecil and General Smuts for example—contributed to the working out of the details. It was due to the resolute insistence of Wilson that the Covenant of the League was incorporated in the text of the peace treaties. Under this Covenant the signatory States agreed not to go to war without first submitting their cause to arbitration by the League, to undertake progressive disarmament, to concert action against any member guilty of aggression, to renounce secret diplomacy, to revise such provisions of the Treaties as might be found inconsistent with the maintenance of peace.

The Constitution of the League was to consist of an Assembly, meeting annually, and composed of delegates of all the member-States; a Council, in which the five victorious Great Powers were to be represented permanently, and four lesser States by election; and a permanent Secretariat functioning at Geneva. In addition, an International Court of Justice was set up to decide international disputes, and an International Labour Office to work for the general improvement of labour conditions (hours, wages, prohibition of child-labour, etc.) throughout the world.

The League suffered one great blow in the beginning by the refusal of the American Congress to ratify the treaties, or to permit the entry of America into the League. None the less, in the first few years of its history, it achieved

a great deal. It arbitrated successfully in disputes between Finland and Sweden, Poland and Lithuania, Albania and Yugoslavia, Italy and Greece. It averted a war between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Its membership steadily increased; Germany was admitted in 1926 and Russia in 1934. It carried out exceedingly valuable work in suppressing such international abuses as the drug traffic, and in raising the general level of labour conditions. It was only in the 'thirties, when certain of the Greater Powers openly defied international morality in the pursuit of aggressive designs that the League was seen to be too weak to cope with the greater lawbreakers, and that its power and influence began to decline.

International Relations (1919-38). The history of European politics since the War may be divided roughly into three periods. The main characteristic of the first period (1919-24) is the French quest for security. On the one hand France seeks to protect herself against any future German menace by building a strong system of alliances, by *rapprochements* with the 'Little Entente' (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania) and with Poland. On the other, she adopts a policy of revengeful severity towards Germany, attempting to enforce the payment of reparations to the full, and to prevent German economic recovery. The supreme exponent of this policy was Poincaré; and its high-water mark was the French invasion of the Ruhr in 1923, when France seized the German default on debt payments as an excuse for marching troops into one of Germany's most important industrial areas and endeavouring to take over production. The passive resistance of the German population, and the ensuing collapse of the German currency, convinced even France that the policy was useless, and that the future of Europe could not be built upon the ruin of one of its chief members.

The second stage (1924-9) may be described as the period of appeasement and conciliation. The policy of repression and revenge is abandoned in favour of an attempt to set the defeated nations on their feet again,

The Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929) successively scaled down the amount of Germany's reparations liabilities. Aided by American and British loans, Germany began to struggle out of her economic prostration. At Locarno (1925) Briand, Austen Chamberlain and Stresemann, the Foreign Ministers of France, England and Germany, met and concluded a pact by which the Rhine frontier was guaranteed, and Great Britain promised to protect France and Germany alike against attack by the other. In the following year Germany took her place as the equal of the other Great Powers in the League of Nations. In 1928, by the Kellogg Pact, fifteen nations agreed to renounce war as an instrument of policy, and to submit their disputes to arbitration. It seemed that a new age of peace and security was dawning in Europe.

These hopes, however, were rudely shattered by the great world-depression which began in 1929, and which marks the opening of our third period—the period of treaty-breaking and of growing war-peril. The causes of that depression are still a subject of controversy; a periodic down-swing of the trade cycle, the dislocation caused by war-debts and reparations, the increased productive capacity of non-European countries like Japan, India and the Dominions, and the false confidence engendered by enormous loans all played a part. The effect of the slump upon the European political situation was disastrous. Unemployment and widespread destitution led to the adoption of prohibitive tariffs, to policies of aggressive Nationalism, to the establishment of dictatorships of the Fascist type.

Since that time, the prospects of peace, of order, of liberty have steadily declined. The cause of international justice and morality received its first serious blow in 1931, when Japan attacked China and conquered Manchuria, setting up the puppet-state of Manchukuo, while the League of Nations looked on, powerless to prevent this act of aggression. This was followed by a series of drastic measures on the part of the new Nazi government of

Germany. In 1933 Germany left the League of Nations; in 1935 she denounced the Treaty of Versailles, and in the following year she remilitarised the Rhineland in defiance of the Western Powers. Meanwhile Italy had openly violated the Covenant of the League by an unprovoked assault upon a fellow-member—Abyssinia. The half-hearted attempt of the League to impose 'sanctions' upon the offender failed; and Abyssinia was conquered in despite of opposition and protest. In the same year (1936) civil war broke out in Spain, and the efforts of the Western Powers to impose a non-intervention agreement upon the other European States were openly and cynically flouted. Finally, in 1938, the last shreds of international order were destroyed by the German annexation of Austria (March) and the disruption of Czechoslovakia (September). During a week of agonising suspense, Europe faced the immediate prospect of another and more devastating war. At the last minute the peril was averted; but its removal does not appear to have strengthened the cause of security and peace. The establishment of German 'protection' over the Czechoslovak remnant and the Italian rape of Albania in 1939 seem to indicate that *force majeure* is the only surviving form of international law.

The Growth of Dictatorship in Europe. Apart from the breakdown of the system of international law and order, one other outstanding feature of post-war European history stands out as pre-eminent—the reversal of that steady tendency towards the achievement of democratic liberty which was so predominant a characteristic of the nineteenth century, and which seemed to reach its fulfilment in the victory of the Allied Powers. England and France, it is true, have succeeded in preserving their system of government unimpaired, in spite of labour troubles like the General Strike, financial scandals like the 'affaire Stavisky' and the devastating impact of the Depression; and Czechoslovakia, down to 1938, provided a remarkable example of what could be achieved by democratic government under able and enlightened leadership. But elsewhere in Europe

the cause of democracy and liberty has suffered a series of defeats. The first great reverse occurred in Italy, where disappointment and disillusionment concerning the meagre returns for Italy's war-sacrifices combined with violent labour unrest and increasingly feeble government to prepare the way for the establishment of an aggressively nationalist and strongly authoritarian dictatorship by Mussolini in 1922. In Germany the Weimar Republic, born out of humiliation and defeat, and tolerant of every variety of license and corruption, was never very strong; it received its death-blow in the Great Depression. The Hitler dictatorship was the product of national humiliation, economic collapse, unemployment and despair.

In Poland the endless and unprofitable struggle of Parliamentary factions led Pilsudski, a soldier and a second Cromwell, to carry through a *coup d'état* in the name of order and strong government (1926). In Jugoslavia the feud of Croat *versus* Serb brought about a royal dictatorship under King Alexander, and after his assassination (1934) dictatorial government was continued in the regency of Prince Paul. In two States, neither of them predominantly European — Russia and Turkey — the experiment of democracy has never been tried; in both cases the urgent necessity of a complete remaking of the social and economic organisation of the people has necessitated a strong hand at the helm.

In all the countries in which democracy has given place to dictatorship specific causes may be assigned—economic dislocation, multiplicity of parties, national humiliation and weakness. What is more significant is that a new political creed has been evolved, a creed which sacrifices the individual to the State and which considers the destruction of liberty more than justified by the gain of national power and prestige. How far this new philosophy is destined to be permanent, how far it is the product merely of exceptional conditions, it would be rash to prophesy. For the present, at any rate, the ideals of Mazzini and of John Stuart Mill would appear to be

fighting a losing battle with those of Hegel and of Treitschke.

Conclusion. The Great War was fought in the name of two ideals: it was 'the war to end war,' and it was fought 'to make the world safe for democracy.' In the Europe of 1939 those two ideals seem very far from fulfilment. Democracy has gone down to defeat in Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania. In China and in Spain two great wars have left their train of havoc and desolation. The Great Powers are straining every nerve in an armament race more intense than that of 1914. Against the new 'Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis' the old 'Triple Entente' of England, France and Russia renews itself. England breaks with the tradition of centuries in adopting conscription, and America rouses itself from its long isolation. Not merely for Europe, but for the world, the avoidance of war has become the crucial question for the future of civilisation and of mankind.

GUIDE TO FURTHER READING

IN the hope that the student may be induced to follow up some of the topics dealt with in this book, a few suggestions for further study are included. Most of them will be found in any good public library.

Among general histories of the period probably the most useful are:

H. J. Grant and H. W. V. Temperley, *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*.

J. A. R. Marriott, *History of Europe* (1815-1923).

H. A. L. Fisher, *History of Europe* (Book III—*The Liberal Experiment*).

For the French Revolution the most stimulating short sketch is Hilaire Belloc's *The French Revolution* (Home University Library).

The same author has also written good biographies of Danton and Robespierre. An excellent general account of the period of the Revolution and Napoleon is *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*, by J. Holland Rose.

For Napoleon there is the brilliant short biography by H. A. L. Fisher (Home University Library); and longer studies by J. Holland Rose and Jacques Bainville. The military side of Napoleon's career is particularly well treated in *Napoleon, an Outline*, by C. R. Ballard.

For particular countries and particular topics in the nineteenth century and after, the following may be recommended:

EUROPE AFTER 1815.

H. du Coudray, *Metternich*.

FRANCE.

A. Duff Cooper, *Talleyrand*.

Philip Guedalla, *The Second Empire*.

G. Lowes Dickinson, *Revolution and Reaction in Modern France*.

GERMANY.

C. Grant Robertson, *Bismarck*.

Emil Ludwig, *William II*.

G. P. Gooch, *Germany*.

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY.

G. M. Trevelyan's famous trilogy: *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, and *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (now obtainable in one volume).

IMPERIALISM.

Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*.

THE GREAT WAR.

The best short accounts of the War are:

C. R. Cruttwell, *A History of the Great War*.

B. H. Liddell Hart, *The Real War*.

The history of Europe since the War may be followed up in *The Post-War World*, by J. Hampden Jackson. And finally, the student may bring his political history up to date by reading that extremely stimulating and entertaining book, *Inside Europe*, by John Gunther.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES

INTRODUCTION: EUROPE IN 1789

Shaping of modern Europe determined by two factors:

1. French Revolution—destroyed despotic government, generated ideas of Parliamentary democracy and Liberalism.
2. Industrial Revolution—replaced agriculture by industry and aristocracy by middle-class, and enlarged sphere of economic activity to whole world.

Condition of Europe:

1. *Political*—the Balance of Power—five Great Powers:

England—prosperous, isolationist.

France—leader of Europe, but exhausted by war and misgovernment.

Austria—dual position of Austrian ruler—as Holy Roman Emperor and as ruler of Hapsburg territories—extensive but disunited possessions.

Prussia—governed by Hohenzollerns. Militaristic and aggressive.

Russia—emerging from long isolation owing to Peter the Great and Catherine II.

Other States—Sweden, Holland, Spain, Italy, Switzerland.

Most of Europe governed by absolute despotism (except England, Holland, Switzerland, Poland).

But despots with enlightened ideas of reform, *e.g.* Frederick the Great of Prussia, Joseph II of Austria, Catherine II of Russia.

2. *Social:*

Privileged groups of nobles—great wealth and monopoly of high positions in Church and State.

Towns—small upper *bourgeoisie* of merchants, manufacturers and professional men. Larger proletariat of artisans and craftsmen.

Peasants—constituted majority of population—partly servile, poor, loaded with taxes and dues.

3. *Intellectual:*

Great intellectual activity in eighteenth century:

France—Voltaire, Rousseau and Encyclopædists.

England—Hume, Gibbon, Adam Smith.

Germany—Goethe, Kant, Schiller.

America—Benjamin Franklin.

Intellectual protest against political and social conditions prepared way for revolution.

I. FRANCE ON THE EVE OF REVOLUTION

Growing prosperity of France in later eighteenth century:

1. foreign trade quadrupled.
2. large-scale industry beginning—iron, textiles, coal mining.
3. communications improved—roads and canals.
4. peasants acquiring possession of land.

Yet revolution took place, owing to:

1. *Unjust Social System*:

Clergy and nobles immune from taxation and monopolised power.

Bourgeoisie, though intelligent and energetic, barred from highest positions—also resented obsolete mercantile restrictions.

Peasants—position improving, but still miserable—subject to heavy taxation and vexatious feudal obligations—grievances increased by Lords' revival of old claims.

2. *Intellectual Criticism*:

Montesquieu—attacked despotism and praised English government.

Physiocrats—opposed mercantile restrictions.

Voltaire—ridiculed Church and superstition.

Rousseau—proclaimed sovereignty of people (*Social Contract*).

American Civil War—provided example of successful revolution.

3. *Collapse of Government*:

Financial system appallingly bad—rich exempt from taxation, taxes formed, pensions to courtiers, drain of wars.

Turgot attempted financial reform, but was overthrown.

His successors—Necker and Calonne—continued drift to bankruptcy by wholesale borrowing.

When edge of bankruptcy reached, Calonne advised summoning of Assembly of Notables.

But Assembly would not consent to taxation of rich.

Therefore King summoned States-General.

II. THE MONARCHICAL EXPERIMENT

Four main phases of French Revolution:

1. Constitutional experiment (1789-91).
2. Girondins (1791-3).
3. Jacobins and Terror (1793-4).
4. Directory (1795-9).

1789. First (constitutional) period begins with opening of States-General (May 5).
 General spirit optimistic and loyal—need for reform recognised, but belief that King would solve the problems.
 But King soon lost popularity:

1. *Tennis Court Oath* (June):

Third Estate refused to sit with nobles and clergy and called itself the 'National Assembly.'
 King took side of privileged Orders—doors of Assembly Hall locked—deputies adjourned to Tennis Court and swore to make a constitution.
 King gave way and ordered nobles and clergy to join Third Estate.

2. *Fall of Bastille* (July):

King dismissed Necker and concentrated royal troops at Versailles—Paris feared *coup d'état*.
 July 14—Bastille stormed by mob.
 King recognised 'Commune of Paris,' tricolour and National Guard.
 Disorders in provinces—communes, château-burning.

3. *March of the Women* (October):

Mob marched to Versailles and brought King and Queen back to Paris—practically prisoners in Tuileries.

Work of National or Constituent Assembly:

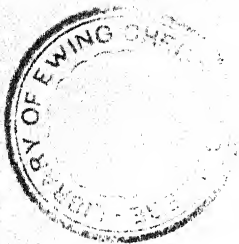
1789. 1. *August 4*—abolition of feudal dues, exemption from taxation, etc.

2. *Declaration of Rights of Man*—preamble to Constitution—rights of liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression.

3. *Constitution*—provinces abolished and replaced by departments, divided into districts and communes.
 limited monarchy—King to have only suspensive veto.
 Separation of Executive and Legislature—King's ministers ineligible for election to Assembly.
 Single-chamber Legislature—Assembly, elected by limited franchise.
 reform of justice—elected judges, torture abolished.

1790. 4. *Civil Constitution of Clergy:*

Church land confiscated and paper money issued on their security (*assignats*).
 Therefore clergy to be maintained by State—paid fixed salaries and elected by lay assemblies.



King strongly objected to this attack on Church.
For a time his resentment and dislike of new Constitution were restrained by Mirabeau.

But Mirabeau died April 1791.

King and Queen planned to escape from Paris to loyal army on frontier.

1791. June—Flight to Varennes—King recognised and stopped.
Brought back to Paris—increased unpopularity of monarchy.

III. REVOLUTION AT WAR

Legislative Assembly :

1791. Met October 1—new men owing to 'self-denying Ordinance.' Divided into three parties:

1. Feuillants (Right)—constitutionalists.
2. Girondins (Left)—led by Vergniaud, Brissot, Mme Roland—supported by Jacobins (Danton, Robespierre, Marat).
3. Centre—easily dominated by extremists.

Failure of King to work Constitution—quarrelled with Assembly over decrees against *émigrés* and non-juring priests.

Quarrel brought to head by outbreak of war.

Europe and the Revolution :

First reactions favourable—Liberals enthusiastic and statesmen pleased at weakening of France.

But Austria and Prussia became hostile owing to:

1. abolition of feudal rights by Constituent Assembly—caused loss to German nobles in Alsace.
2. influence of *émigrés* on frontier.
3. Emperor Leopold's resentment at treatment of sister, Marie Antoinette.

1791. August—Declaration of Pillnitz—Leopold and Frederick William II of Prussia proposed intervention.

French also welcomed war because:

1. Royalists hoped for revival of King's authority.
2. Girondins hoped for discrediting of monarchy.
3. Revolution was propagandist.

1792. March—King forced to appoint Girondin ministry.

April—King declared war on Austria.

Fall of Monarchy :

Owing to chaotic state of French armies, war opened badly for French.

This roused anti-monarchical feeling in Paris.

1792. August—Brunswick Manifesto—increased feeling against King.
 August 10—Attack on Tuileries—King and Royal Family imprisoned in Temple—monarchy suspended.
 New Girondin ministry set up—Danton Minister of Justice.
 New Assembly summoned—the Convention.
 Defects on frontier—Allies captured Longwy and besieged Verdun.
 This led to ‘September Massacres’ in Paris (wholesale execution of aristocrats and non-juring priests).
1792. September—Meeting of Convention—more extreme revolutionary spirit prevailing—Girondins now on Right, opposed by ‘Mountain’ (Jacobins, led by Danton, Robespierre and Marat). Moderate policy of Girondins discredited by defeat in war and growing scarcity and unemployment in France.
1793. Jacobins gained decisive advantage by forcing Girondins into allowing execution of King (January).

The War, 1792-3:

1792. September—Dumouriez checked Prussians at Valmy and drove them back over Rhine.
 Further French successes:
1. Dumouriez victorious at Jémappes in Netherlands.
 2. French captured Speyer and Mainz.
 3. French occupied Savoy and Nice.
- But these successes due not to French strength but to Allies’ weakness—Austria and Prussia quarrelling over Poland (Second Partition, 1793).
1793. February—England entered war against France, owing to:
1. Convention’s proclamation offering to help peoples against their Governments.
 2. French conquest of Belgium.
 3. French violation of Scheldt treaty.
 4. execution of Louis XVI.

First Coalition—England, Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain.
 France suffered severe defeats:

1. Dumouriez defeated by Austrians at Neerwinden (April).
2. Dumouriez attempted unsuccessful *coup d’état* and then deserted to Austrians.
3. Allies reconquered Belgium and besieged Condé and Valenciennes.
4. Prussians defeated French on Rhine and besieged Mainz.
5. Revolt in la Vendée.

Therefore demand for drastic measures—Jacobin attack on half-hearted Girondin ministry.

1793. May 31 and June 2—mob insurrections frightened Convention into ordering arrest of Girondin leaders.

IV. THE TERROR

Reorganisation of French Government after fall of Girondins—Convention supreme in theory, but real power concentrated in hands of two Committees:

1. Committee of Public Safety—twelve leading Jacobins, headed by Robespierre and Carnot.
2. Committee of General Security—controlled police system.

Committees controlled local departments and communes by means of 'Representatives on Mission.'

This Government had to face very critical situation:

1. Rebellions in provinces—La Vendée and several big provincial towns.
2. Military defeats—Condé and Valenciennes captured and Dunkirk besieged, Prussians in Alsace.

Dangers overcome by means of:

1. *The Terror:*

'Law of Suspects.'
execution of Girondin leaders.
ruthless suppression of rebellions in provinces—Vendeans crushed, massacres in Nantes and Lyons, recapture of Toulon (Bonaparte's appearance).

2. *Great military efforts:*

Army reorganised by Carnot—universal conscription.
New generals (Hoche, Pichegru, Jourdan).
Victories at Hondshoote (September) and Wattignies (October).

1794. Reconquest of Belgium by Jourdan—victory at Fleurus.

3. *Internal reorganisation:*

1793. Profiteering stopped by Law of Maximum.
Decimal system and new calendar.
Attack on Christianity—'Worship of Reason.'

1794. As crisis passed, dissension appeared in Government—conflict between 'Indulgents' (Danton and Desmoulins), Hébertists and 'Triumvirate' (Robespierre, Couthon Saint-Just).

Robespierre victorious—Hébert and Danton guillotined.

1794. April–July—Ascendancy of Robespierre:

1. Cult of Reason replaced by 'Worship of Supreme Being.'
2. Intensification of Terror—Law of 22 Prairial—1376 guillotined.

Reaction against terrorism—resistance organised by Fouché:
July 26. Threatening speech by Robespierre in Convention.

- „ 27. Arrest of Robespierre ordered.
„ 28 (10 Thermidor). Robespierre guillotined.

Thermidorian Reaction :

1. Committees brought under control of Convention.
2. Commune of Paris broken up.
3. Law of Maximum repealed.
4. Jacobins persecuted—Club closed.

1795. Attempted insurrection of Paris mob failed—end of terrorism.

Victories abroad:

1. Pichegru invaded Holland and captured Amsterdam.
2. Prussia, Holland and Spain withdrew from war.
3. English attempt to raise Royalist rebellion in Brittany defeated at Quiberon Bay.

New Constitution—'Constitution of Year III':

1. Directory of five.
2. Council of Ancients.
3. Council of Five Hundred.
4. 'Law of Two-Thirds'—perpetuated rule of Convention.

Paris rising dispersed by Bonaparte ('whiff of grapeshot').
Convention dissolved.

V. THE DIRECTORY AND THE RULE OF NAPOLEON

France under Directory :

'Constitution of Year III' a bad system of government because:

1. contained no arrangement for resolving conflicts between Executive (Directors) and Legislature (two Councils).
2. made conflict likely by arranging that one-third of Council of Five Hundred should retire each year, but only one Director (Council thus more susceptible to party changes).

1795. October—Election of five Directors (Barras, Larevellière, Reubell, Letourneur, Carnot).

Opposition from:

1. Right—Moderates wanted end of war and restoration of monarchy (Count of Provence).
2. Left—Jacobins wanted more democratic government.

Series of *coups d'état*:

1796. 1. Babeuf Conspiracy—Communist plot suppressed.
2. 'Fructidor'—Moderate majority in Councils repealed laws against *émigrés* and priests. Intervention of Augereau—Moderate leaders transported.
1797. 3. *Coup d'état* by Sieyès—three Directors forced to resign.

Sieyès plotted overthrow of Directory, and decided to use Bonaparte.

Rise of Napoleon :

- Born 1769 in Ajaccio—son of Corsican lawyer.
 Corsica became French owing to suppression of Paoli rising.
 Napoleon sent to military school at Brienne—commissioned lieutenant of artillery, 1785.
1793. Bonaparte family expelled from Corsica.
 Napoleon gained first distinction at Toulon.
1794. Discredited by fall of Robespierre and refusal to serve in La Vendée.
1795. Helped Barras to crush Paris rebellion.
 Marriage with Josephine Beauharnais.
1796. Appointed to command army of Italy.

Italian Campaign, 1796-7 :

- Triple attack on Austria—Jourdan and Moreau from north.
 Napoleon in Italy.
1796. Napoleon attacked Sardinians and forced them to conclude Armistice of Cherasco (Savoy and Nice ceded to France).
 Napoleon defeated Austrians at Lodi and captured Milan.
 Siege of Mantua—four Austrian attempts to relieve town repulsed.
1797. Fall of Mantua.
 Pope forced to conclude Treaty of Tolentino—gave up Avignon, handed over art treasures and 30 million francs.
 Napoleon drove Austrians out of Italy and threatened Vienna.
- Treaty of Campo Formio:
1. Austria ceded Belgium and Lombardy (Cisalpine Republic set up).
 2. Austria received Venice in exchange.

Egyptian Expedition (1798-9) :

- Direct attack on England impossible owing to English sea-power (naval victories at Cape St Vincent and Camperdown).
 Therefore attack on British Empire in East decided upon.
1798. May—expedition set out—captured Malta—landed at Alexandria.
- July—victory over Mamelukes at Pyramids.
- August—Nelson destroyed French fleet at battle of Nile.
 Napoleon invaded Syria—repulsed at Acre by Sir Sidney Smith.
- Napoleon decided to abandon expedition owing to news of formation of Second Coalition and defeat of French.
- [Army of Egypt defeated by Abercromby and forced to evacuate Egypt, 1801.]

Brumaire :

- Continued aggressions of Directory during Napoleon's absence (setting-up of Republics in Holland, Switzerland, Rome, Naples).

1799. Pitt formed Second Coalition (England, Austria, Russia, Naples, Turkey).
 French defeats caused people to welcome Napoleon as saviour.
 November 9-10—*Coup d'état* of Brumaire—Napoleon overthrew Directory and set up Consulate (Napoleon, Sieyès and Ducos).

VI. THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE (1799-1807)

1799. December—New Constitution:

1. Three Consuls elected for ten years.
 2. Council of State and three legislative assemblies.
- Really a dictatorship—Napoleon appointed officials, made laws, commanded army.

Second Italian Campaign:

Situation in 1799—French army under Moreau holding Austrians on Rhine, Masséna besieged in Genoa.

1800. Napoleon went to aid of Masséna—marched on Milan and cut off Melas (Austrian commander).

June—defeated Melas at Marengo.

December—Moreau won victory at Hohenlinden.

1801. February—*Treaty of Lunéville*:

1. Austria ceded territory west of Rhine.
2. Austria recognised independence of Cisalpine, Ligurian, Helvetic and Batavian Republics.

Peace of Amiens:

Napoleon formed 'Armed Neutrality' against England (Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia).

But alliance broken up by death of Czar Paul and Nelson's victory at Copenhagen.

1802. March—*Treaty of Amiens*:

1. England restored colonial conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad, and agreed to hand back Malta to Knights of St John.
2. Napoleon to evacuate Naples, Egypt, Portugal.

Reorganisation of France:

1. Concordat with Pope (1802)—Catholic Church restored, but under State control.
 2. *Code Napoléon*—codification of whole French legal system.
 3. local government—centralisation—prefect, sub-prefect and mayor appointed by central government.
 4. finance—reform of taxation, Bank of France set up.
 5. economic development—protective policy, roads and canals.
- France prosperous, but deprived of liberty—censorship of Press, secret police.

The Empire :

1804. Cadoudal conspiracy—plot to abduct Napoleon and restore Bourbons.
 Execution of Duc d'Enghien.
 Napoleon took advantage of alarm created to establish Empire (crowned 1804).

Third Coalition :

Peace of Amiens broke down owing to:

1. English fear of Napoleon's colonial designs (*e.g.* San Domingo expedition and Sebastiani mission).
2. Exclusion of British goods from France.
3. Napoleon's resentment at attacks in British newspapers, and refusal of England to evacuate Malta.

1803. May—Renewal of war.
 Pitt built up Third Coalition (England, Austria, Russia, Sweden).

1803-5. Attempted invasion of England—troops concentrated at Boulogne.
 Napoleon failed to gain command of Channel (Villeneuve defeated off Cape Finisterre, July 1805).

1805. October—Trafalgar—French and Spanish fleets annihilated.
 Napoleon abandoned invasion scheme and turned against Austria.

Defeat of Austria :

1805. October—first Austrian army forced to surrender at Ulm.
 Napoleon entered Vienna.
 December 2—Austerlitz—Austro-Russian army crushingly defeated.

Treaty of Pressburg—Austria ceded all Italian possessions to Kingdom of Italy, and Tyrol to Bavaria.

Reorganisation of Germany:

1. Holy Roman Empire abolished.
2. 'Confederation of Rhine' set up under French control.

Humiliation of Prussia :

Frederick William III had kept out of Third Coalition, and received Hanover as reward.
 But now discovered Napoleon negotiating return of Hanover to England—and resented French domination of Germany.

1806. October—declared war.
 Crushing defeat of Prussian armies at Jena and Auerstadt.
 Prussia forced to submit—Berlin Decrees.

Peace with Russia:

1807. Russian army still operating in East Prussia.
 Battles of Eylau (indecisive) and Friedland (French victory).
 Treaty of Tilsit—meeting of Napoleon and Alexander on raft in River Niemen:
1. Prussia to lose possessions in west to new Kingdom of Westphalia, and Polish possessions to Grand Duchy of Warsaw.
 2. Russia to join France against England if mediation was refused.
 3. Russia to have free hand against Turkey.

VII. THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON (1807-15)

Tilsit marks zenith of Napoleon's career—victories over Austria and Prussia, alliance with Russia, direct rule over Holland and Italy, domination over Germany, Switzerland, Spain.

But Napoleon's rule threatened by two forces:

1. unceasing hostility of England.
2. new force of Nationalism.

Measure adopted to defeat England—Continental System—strengthened national resistance and did more harm to France and allies than to England.

[Continental System—Berlin and Milan Decrees, 1806 and 1807. England retaliated by Orders in Council.]

Nationalism in Prussia:

Regeneration of Prussia after 1806:

1. intellectual renaissance—*Tugendbund*, writings of Schiller and Fichte.
2. reforms of Stein (Chief Minister 1807-8)—Edict of Emancipation.
3. reorganisation of army by Scharnhorst—conscription.
4. education—Humboldt—foundation of University of Berlin.

Nationalism in Spain:

Spanish Government weak—Charles IV incapable, Godoy unpopular, opposition led by Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias.

Napoleon wanted to establish direct control over Spain in order to force Portugal into Continental System.

1808. Interview at Bayonne—Charles IV and Ferdinand forced to abandon claim to throne—Joseph appointed King of Spain.

Spanish nationalist rebellion—'Juntas' set up.

1808. July—Capitulation at Baylen—Dupont surrendered to rebels.
 August—English force under Wellesley landed in Portugal.

Peninsular War (1808-14):

Napoleon strengthened position against Austria by renewing alliance with Alexander at Erfurt.

Took over command in Spain—drove back Sir John Moore to Corunna (Moore killed, but English embarked safely).

Napoleon recalled to France by Austrian danger.

1809. Wellesley returned to Portugal, invaded Spain, won victory at Talavera (made Viscount Wellington).

1810. Masséna tried to drive English out of Portugal, but checked by Lines of Torres Vedras.

1812. Wellington captured Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo and entered Madrid.

1813. British victory at Vittoria—French driven out of Spain.

1814. Decisive victory of Wellington at Toulouse.

Peninsular War a 'running sore'—detained 200,000 men in Spain.

Austrian War, 1809:

1808-9. Rebellion of Tyrolese against Bavaria—Austrians invaded Bavaria.

Napoleon drove back Austrians and entered Vienna.

Battles of Aspern—Essling and Wagram—victory for Napoleon, but with heavy losses.

1809. *Treaty of Schonbrunn:*

1. Austria ceded Illyrian Provinces to France, and most of Polish possessions to Duchy of Warsaw.

2. heavy war indemnity.

Austria abandoned resistance—marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise (daughter of Emperor Francis).

Russian Campaign:

Alliance of Napoleon and Alexander broke down owing to:

1. Alexander's resentment at creation of Duchy of Warsaw and annexation of Oldenburg.

2. Russian breach of Continental System—ports opened to British goods 1811.

1812. June—Grand Army invaded Russia—Barclay de Tolly refused battle and retreated.

Napoleon marched on Moscow.

Borodino—Napoleon entered Moscow.

But Alexander refused peace, Moscow burned out, winter approaching.

Napoleon forced to retreat—terrible hardships—only 20,000 men survived.

War of Liberation :

Russian disaster led to general rising against France.

1813. Alliance of Russia, Prussia and Sweden (Bernadotte).
 Napoleon won profitless victories at Lützen and Bautzen.
 Two months' armistice—Austria joined Allies.
1813. October—Battle of Leipzig—crushing defeat of Napoleon.
1814. January—Allies invaded France.
 Brilliant but unsuccessful defensive campaign by Napoleon.
 March—Allies entered Paris.
 Treaty of Fontainebleau—Napoleon abdicated and received
 Principality of Elba and pension.

Restoration of Bourbons :

Count of Provence restored as Louis XVIII—issued Charter promising liberty and constitutional government.

1814. May—First Treaty of Paris—France returned to frontiers of 1792.
 Congress met at Vienna to settle other problems.
 Bourbon rule unpopular, and Powers quarrelled at Vienna.
1815. Therefore Napoleon seized opportunity and returned to France (March).

Hundred Days :

Napoleon welcomed by French—issued liberal programme.
 But Powers renewed Quadruple Alliance and concentrated armies under Wellington and Blücher in Belgium.

1815. June 18—Waterloo.
 Napoleon abdicated and surrendered to English—confined on island of St Helena.
 Creation of 'Napoleonic Legend.'

VIII. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Peace Treaties :

General destruction of old European political structure—Holy Roman Empire abolished, Italy united, Holland, Switzerland and Piedmont under French rule, new States created (Duchy of Warsaw, Westphalia, Illyrian Provinces).

New settlement based on three Treaties:

1. First Treaty of Paris (May 1814).
2. Treaty of Vienna (June 1815).
3. Second Treaty of Paris (November 1815).

Congress of Vienna :

Chief statesmen were:

England—Castlereagh and Wellington—moderating influence.
Austria—Metternich—reactionary.
Russia—Alexander I—vague liberalism and ambitions for Russia.
Prussia—Hardenberg—out for territorial aggrandisement.
France—Talleyrand—played off other Powers against each other
(*e.g.* over Poland and Saxony).

These statesmen confronted with three problems:

1. adjustment of territorial claims.
2. security against further trouble from France.
3. lasting peace.

Territorial Settlement :

Russia gained Duchy of Warsaw, Finland.
Austria recovered Tyrol and Lombardy and gained Venetia.
Prussia gained Posen, Swedish Pomerania, North Saxony, Westphalia and Rhine Province.
Sweden compensated for Finland by acquisition of Norway.
England acquired colonial and naval advantages—Heligoland and Malta in Europe, Trinidad, Tobago and St Lucia in West Indies, Ceylon and Mauritius to safeguard India, and purchased Cape of Good Hope from Holland.
Germany reconstituted as Confederation of thirty-nine States.
Italy restored to old divisions.

Buttresses against France :

Belgium and Holland united as Kingdom of Netherlands.
Prussia brought on to Rhine.
Switzerland guaranteed neutral.
Kingdom of Sardinia gained Genoa.

Lasting Peace :

1. Holy Alliance—Christian brotherhood of kings.
 2. Quadruple Alliance—Powers to meet in regular congresses.
- Concert of Europe established—but degenerated into instrument of reaction.
Vienna settlement unsatisfactory because it ignored Nationalism.
But provided Europe with forty years of peace.

IX. THE YEARS OF REACTION (1815-30)

Main feature of post-War period is attempt of Governments to stamp out two forces generated by Revolution—Nationalism and Liberalism.

General reaction :

1. England—policy of Castlereagh, Sidmouth and Eldon.
2. France—Louis XVIII and Richelieu (chief minister) tolerant and conciliatory, but Ultra-royalists organised 'White Terror' (Fouché and Talleyrand dismissed, Ney shot, Bonapartists persecuted).
3. Spain—Ferdinand VII abolished Constitution, restored Jesuits and Inquisition.
4. Italy—reaction in Sardinia, Naples, Rome.

Policy of Metternich :

Despotic and anti-national character of Hapsburg Empire forced Metternich to persecute Liberal and Nationalist ideas both in Empire and in Germany.

Used events in Germany (Wartburg Festival and murder of Kotzebue) to establish system of repression.

1819. 'Carlsbad Decrees':

1. Strict control over Universities and Press.
2. Police commission at Mainz.

Congress System :

Used by Metternich to extinguish Liberalism abroad.

1818. *Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle*—removed army of occupation and admitted France to concert of Powers.

1820. *Congress of Troppau*—summoned to deal with rebellions in Spain and Naples—drew up Troppau Protocol (denounced by Castlereagh).

Congress adjourned to Laibach—authorised Metternich to intervene in Italy—suppression of rebellions in Naples and Piedmont.

1821. Greek rebellion—Metternich persuaded Czar against intervention.

1822. *Congress of Verona*—joint intervention in Spain prevented by English opposition, but France sent troops to crush Spanish rebellion.

Congress System broken up by refusal of England to participate in intervention in internal affairs of States.

1823. Canning prevented Powers from taking action against rebellious Spanish-American colonies (aided by Monroe Doctrine).

1825. Last Congress at St Petersburg—Austria and Russia quarrelled over Greek question—conference broke up.

X. THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1830

France under Bourbons :

'White Terror' abated by end of 1816—France settled down to orderly routine.

1818. Liberal majority at elections—Richelieu succeeded by more Liberal Décazes.

1820. Assassination of Duc de Berri (son of Count of Artois)—led to new wave of reaction.

Villele (Ultra-royalist) made chief minister.

1824. Accession of Charles X (Count of Artois)—reaction more pronounced:

1. Jesuits restored.
2. censorship of Press.
3. question of compensation to *émigrés* for lost lands.

Revival of Liberalism in elections of 1827.

Charles X tried conciliation—made Martignac chief minister.

But opposition continued, and Charles X determined to use force.

1828. Prince de Polignac (Ultra-royalist) chief minister.

July Revolution:

1830. July 25—Ordinances of St Cloud—dissolved Parliament.
Censored Press and reduced franchise.

„ 27—Barricades and street fighting in Paris.

„ 29—Charles X abdicated.

Crown offered to Louis Philippe (son of 'Philippe Egalité').

Establishment of constitutional monarchy.

Revolution in Belgium:

Union of Belgium and Holland in Kingdom of Netherlands proved unsatisfactory because:

1. Belgium was Catholic, Holland Calvinist.
2. Belgium was French in outlook, Holland Teutonic.
3. Belgium was industrial and agricultural, Holland commercial.
4. Holland pursued unwise policy towards Belgians (Dutch the official language, equal representation in States-General, unfair taxation).

Discontent of Belgians stimulated by Paris revolution:

1830. August—revolution in Brussels.

Eastern Powers prevented from intervention by Polish revolt.

Palmerston supported Belgians.

1831. Conference at London recognised Belgian independence.

Leopold of Saxe-Coburg chosen King of Belgians.

1832. Powers guaranteed neutrality of Belgium.

Other Rebellions:

1. Germany—rebellions in Brunswick and Hesse.

2. Italy—rebellions in Parma, Modena, Papal States.

3. Poland—rising against repressive government of Nicholas I.

followed by severe repression—Constitution abolished.

Thus apart from France and Belgium, movement of 1830 failed to break repressive 'Metternich System.'

XI. THE ORLEANS MONARCHY AND THE SECOND EMPIRE

Orleans monarchy was weak from beginning because:

1. it was illogical—neither monarchy nor republic.
2. it was middle-class—franchise limited to 200-franc tax-payers.

Weakness increased by disastrous foreign policy:

1840. 1. supported Mehemet Ali while other Powers were supporting Sultan (Conference at London, 1840); threats ignored by Palmerston—Thiers forced to resign.
1846. 2. supported Southern League in Switzerland (Sonderbund) against northern cantons, supported by England. South defeated.
1846. 3. lost friendship of England over despicable Spanish marriage trick.

Also opposition to Orleans monarchy at home grew stronger, owing to:

1. corruption of Parliament by Government.
2. growth of Socialism—Louis Blanc's *Organisation of Labour*, 1839.
3. revival of Bonapartism—body of Napoleon brought to Les Invalides, 1840.

Revolution of 1848:

1848. February 21—Louis Philippe and Guizot prohibited Reform Banquet.

Rioting—Guizot dismissed.

February 24—Louis Philippe abdicated—Provisional Government set up, consisting of:

1. middle-class Republicans (*e.g.* Lamartine).
2. working-class Socialists (*e.g.* Louis Blanc).

Government opened National Workshops.

May—Assembly met—Socialists in minority.

June—Workshops closed—street-fighting in Paris, put down by Cavaignac.

December—Louis Napoleon elected President.

Proceeded to strengthen his position and gain popularity.

Assembly became unpopular owing to:

1. persecution of Socialists.
2. "Loi Falloux."
3. electoral law of May 1850.

1851. December 2—Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*—established dictatorship.

1852. December 2—Louis Napoleon proclaimed Emperor Napoleon III.

XII. THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

1. GERMANY:

Two elements present:

1. desire for more Liberal governments inside various States.
2. desire to unite Germany into strong nation-state.

Revolution in the States:

News from Paris led to simultaneous rebellions in Baden, Hesse-Cassel, Bavaria, Hanover, etc.

1848. March 18—Revolution in Berlin—Frederick William IV gave way and established a constitution.

December—Reaction in Berlin—Assembly dissolved and illiberal Constitution set up.

German Unity:

1848. May—National Assembly at Frankfort to draw up Constitution for new Germany.

1849. March—Assembly offered German Crown to Frederick William IV, who refused it.

June—End of Frankfort Parliament.

2. HAPSBURG EMPIRE:

Two elements here also:

1. attempt to 'liberalise' the Austrian Government.
2. attempt of subject races (Czechs and Magyars) to win national autonomy.

1848. March 3—Kossuth's 'charnel-house' speech.

followed by March Laws abolishing feudalism and setting up Hungarian Constitution.

Emperor gave way—Hungarian Government set up.

March 13—Revolution in Vienna—flight of Metternich.

May—Emperor fled to Innsbruck—revolution triumphant in Vienna.

June—Meeting of Pan-Slav Congress in Prague.

Prague bombarded by Prince Windischgrätz and Emperor's authority restored.

October—Vienna besieged by Windischgrätz and by Croatian army under Count Jellachich.

Fall of Vienna followed by reaction:

1. new minister—Schwarzenberg.
2. Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favour of nephew, Francis Joseph.

1849. February—Windischgrätz invaded Hungary—checked by Hungarian general, Görgei.

Kossuth renounced allegiance to Emperor, but Russia intervened.

August—Surrender of Görgei at Vilagos—flight of Kossuth. Savage reprisals by General Haynau.

1850. Humiliation of Olmütz—Schwarzenberg forced Frederick William IV to abandon plans for union of Germany.

3. ITALY.

Revolutionary movement stimulated by accession of Pope Pius IX (1846).

1848. January—Revolution in Sicily and Tobacco Riots in Milan. February—Constitutions granted in Tuscany and Sardinia.

March—Milan and Venice drove out Austrians.

Modena and Parma joined themselves to Sardinia.

Charles Albert of Sardinia declared war on Austria.

July—*Custoza*—defeat of Charles Albert by Radetsky.

November—Murder of Rossi—Pope fled from Rome and denounced Revolution.

1849. March—*Novara*—Charles Albert again defeated—abdicated in favour of Victor Emmanuel.

Victor Emmanuel made peace with Austrians, but maintained the Constitution in Sardinia.

June—Rome captured by Oudinot after heroic defence by Garibaldi.

August—Venice surrendered to Austrians.

XIII. THE EASTERN QUESTION AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

Eastern Question consisted of three factors:

1. disintegration of Turkish Empire.
2. nationalism among subject races (Greeks, Serbs, Rumanians, Bulgarians, etc.).
3. interests of Great Powers (Russia, England, France).

Greek Rebellion (1821-32):

1821. Rebellion of Hypsilanti in Moldavia—failed.

Rebellion in Morea—massacre of Turks—Turks retaliated by hanging Patriarch Gregorius.

1825. Sultan Mahmud II called on Mehemet Ali for help.

Campaign of Ibrahim Pasha in Crete and the Morea.

Russia decided to intervene.

1827. Conference at London—Powers agreed to help Greeks.

Navarino—Greeks saved, but England withdrew support after death of Canning.

1829. *Treaty of Adrianople*—Russians forced Sultan to recognise independence of Greeks.

1832. Powers recognised Greek independence—Otto of Bavaria King.

Mehemet Ali, 1831-41 :

Mehemet Ali demanded Syria as reward—Sultan refused.

1831-2. Ibrahim Pasha conquered Syria and defeated Turks at Konieh.

Mahmud II appealed to Powers—only Russia would help.

1833. *Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi*—Dardanelles closed to all but Russian warships.

1839.. Mahmud II tried to recover Syria—again defeated.

1840. *Treaty of London*—all Great Powers except France agreed to help Sultan.

1841. *Straits Convention*—Dardanelles closed to all warships.

*Causes of Crimean War :*1. *Russia and England :*

British distrust of Russian designs strengthened.

1844. conversation of Nicholas I with Aberdeen in England.

1853. conversation of Nicholas I with Hamilton Seymour at St Petersburg.
proposals to partition Turkish Empire rejected by England.
anti-Russian policy of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

2. *Russia and France :*

desire of Napoleon III to win military glory.

personal antipathy to Nicholas I.

1852. affair of Holy Places—induced Sultan to give them back to French Catholic priests.

3. *Russia and Turkey :*

1853. May—Menshikov sent to Constantinople to demand return of Holy Places and recognition of Czar's right to protect Turkey's Christian subjects.
Sultan refused second demand.

June—Russians invaded Principalities.

August—Vienna Note—rejected by Sultan.

October—Turkey declared war on Russia.

1853. November—'Massacre of Sinope.'

1854. March—England and France declared war on Russia.

Crimean War :

1854. First phase—Allies compelled Russians to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia (August).

September—Expedition under Lord Raglan and Marshal St Arnaud to Crimea.

battle of Alma—Sabastopol besieged.

October—Balaclava } defeat of Russian attempts to
November—Inkermann } relieve Sebastopol.

1855. January—Sardinia joined Allies.
 March—Death of Nicholas I.
 August—Battle of Tchernaya—last attempt to relieve
 Sebastopol.
 September—Fall of Sebastopol.
 November—Russians captured Kars.

1856. March 30—*Treaty of Paris* :

1. Turkey admitted to circle of Powers—Russian claim abandoned.
2. Black Sea neutral.
3. Moldavia and Wallachia independent of Russia.
4. Navigation of Danube open.

Declaration concerning maritime law added.

Results of Crimean War :

Failed to achieve its objects (*e.g.* Turkish Christians, Black Sea, etc.).
 But had other important effects :

1. made Napoleon III dominant figure in Europe.
2. forced Russian Government to undertake internal reform.
3. lost Austria all allies.
4. gained Cavour friendship of England and France.

XIV. THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Revolution of 1848–9 had not been entirely useless :

1. it had taught Italians the need for unity and for the leadership of the House of Savoy.
2. it had demonstrated need for outside assistance.
3. it had 'woken up' Western Europe to Italy's grievances.

Cavour :

Adherent of English Liberal ideas—editor of *Risorgimento* and member of 1848 Parliament in Sardinia.

1852. Became chief minister—modernised Piedmont by :

1. construction of railways.
2. commercial treaties.
3. limiting power of Church.
4. building up strong army.

Then set out to gain foreign alliance by intervention in Crimean War—appeared at Peace Conference.

1858. Interview at Plombières—Napoleon III to help against Austrians if Austria was made to appear aggressor—France to get Savoy and Nice in return.

1859. War of Liberation—battles of Magenta and Solferino.

Armistice of Villafranca (Treaty of Zurich):

1. Lombardy given up to Piedmont.
2. but Austria to keep Venetia, and rulers of Parma, Modena and Tuscany to return.

Cavour resigned, but returned to office to 'do a deal' with Napoleon III—France to have Savoy and Nice, if duchies were allowed to join themselves to Piedmont.

Garibaldi:

Already famous for defence of Rome (1849) and guerrilla war in Alps (1859).

Rebellion in Sicily—Garibaldi asked to help.

Expedition secretly prepared in Genoa.

1860. May—Expedition set out—landed at Marsala.

Conquest of Sicily (May–August).

August—Crossing of Straits of Messina—rapid conquest of Naples—danger of attack on Rome.

September—Victor Emmanuel invaded Papal States—battle of Castelfidardo.

October—Meeting of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi.

1861. February—First Italian Parliament at Turin.

Completion of Italian Unity:

1. *Venice*—acquired after Seven Weeks' War (Treaty of Prague) as reward for helping Bismarck to defeat Austria.
2. *Rome*—occupied in 1870, when Franco-Prussian War compelled Napoleon III to withdraw French garrison.

XV. THE UNION OF GERMANY: I. PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA

German unity facilitated by:

1. strong national sentiment.
2. Zollverein (Customs Union)—economic unity.

Bismarck:

1861. William I became King of Prussia—plan for strengthening army—opposed by Liberals in Prussian Parliament.

1862. Bismarck made chief minister—advised King to crush opposition by force.

Bismarck was typical 'Junker' Conservative.

Policy was to unite Germany by 'blood and iron'—by establishing domination of Prussia over other States.

First necessity was defeat of Austria.

Bismarck prepared for this by:

1. securing allies—e.g. supported Czar over Polish rebellion (1863).
2. pushing Austria into quarrel over Schleswig-Holstein question.

Schleswig-Holstein Question:

Danish kings were also dukes of Schleswig and Holstein—but duchies governed separately.

Duchies contained large German element, and German Diet resented their subjection to Denmark.

Danish King (Frederick VII) had no direct heir.

1852. *Treaty of London* arranged that Christian of Glücksburg should succeed both in Denmark and in duchies, but should keep duchies separate.

1863. Frederick VII died—Christian IX succeeded in Denmark and duchies—but consented to Danish law altering status of Schleswig.

Therefore Diet protested, and rival claimant to duchies came forward—Duke of Augustenburg.

1864. Bismarck persuaded Austria to join in intervention.
Danish War—Christian IX forced to give up duchies.

1865. *Convention of Gastein*—Prussia took Schleswig and Austria took Holstein.

1866. Austria supported claim of Augustenburg.

Bismarck drove Austria into war by:

1. occupying Holstein.
2. proposing exclusion of Austria from German Confederation.

1866. *Seven Weeks' War:*

Bismarck had secured:

1. neutrality of France (Biarritz, 1865).
2. alliance of Italy (*Treaty of 1866*).

Also Prussian army much more efficient (organised by Roon, commanded by Moltke, armed with needle gun).

Therefore Prussia gained rapid victory:

1. smashed lesser States at Langensalza.
2. defeated main Austrian army at Königgrätz (Sadowa) (July 3).

1866. August—*Treaty of Prague:*

1. Venetia given to Italy.
2. Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel and Nassau annexed by Prussia.

Reorganisation of Germany—Confederation of 1815 replaced by 'North German Confederation,' containing all German States north of River Main.

Prussia the dominant member of new Confederation.

Reorganisation of Austria:

Defeat forced Austrian Emperor to make concessions to dissatisfied nationalism.

1867. *Ausgleich* (Compromise)—set up Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary—but did nothing for other subject-races (Czechs, Croats, Serbs, Poles, etc.).

Also Austria abandoned attempt to dominate Central Europe and turned to Balkans.

XVI. THE UNION OF GERMANY: II. THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

After 1866 war between France and Germany was inevitable, because:

1. France was alarmed by increased strength of Prussia.
2. Bismarck needed to stir up German nationalism to induce southern States to join union.

Since 1860, Third Empire had been growing weaker:

1. *Foreign Policy:*

- 1860. Napoleon III destroyed gratitude of Italians by taking Savoy and Nice.
- 1863. intervention in Polish rebellion caused humiliation of France.
- 1861-7. Mexican expedition was disastrous failure—disgraced Napoleon in eyes of Europe.

2. *Domestic Policy:*

also unsuccessful—promoted internal prosperity by treaties, building of canals and railways, rebuilding of Paris—but failed to disarm Liberal opposition.

- 1860. Concessions to Liberalism—Parliamentary control over Government strengthened.
- 1869. Emile Ollivier made chief minister.

Napoleon III and Bismarck:

After Seven Weeks' War, Napoleon sought compensation:

1. Rhineland—refused by Bismarck and alienated Bavaria.
2. Part of Belgium—refused, and alienated England.
3. Luxemburg—led to sharp protest from German Nationalists.

But French Government made even worse blunder over the Spanish candidature.

- 1870. Spanish throne offered to Leopold of Hohenzollern, and accepted.

French protests—William I induced Leopold to withdraw candidature.

French victory—but French Foreign Minister (de Gramont) ordered Ambassador (Benedetti) to demand pledge that candidature should never be renewed.

Pledge refused by William I.

'Ems telegram' doctored by Bismarck and published.

- 1870. July—France declared war.

Franco-Prussian War:

- 1870. August—German armies invaded Alsace-Lorraine—defeated MacMahon at Wörth and Bazaine at Spicheren.
- Bazaine shut up in Metz.
- MacMahon ordered to march to his relief.

September 1 *Sedan*—French crushingly defeated—Napoleon surrendered with remnant of army.

Fall of Third Empire—Provisional Government set up (Trochu, Favre, Gambetta, etc.).

Siege of Paris.

October—Surrender of Bazaine at Metz.

1871. January 28—Surrender of Paris.

May—*Treaty of Frankfurt* :

1. Alsace and Eastern Lorraine given up to Germany.

2. War indemnity of £200,000,000—army of occupation until paid.

Meanwhile Bismarck had completed German unity.

January 18—Coronation of William I as 'German Emperor' at Versailles.

XVII. EUROPE AFTER 1870

New forces in Europe after 1870—Nationalism and Liberalism replaced by Imperialism and Socialism.

Imperialism :

During later nineteenth century Europe was rapidly industrialised.

Belgium, France and Germany developed big-scale industry.

Germany gained lead in steel, chemical and electrical industries.

United States also competing in world markets.

Owing to competition, States resorted to tariffs.

Therefore only outlet for manufacturer was acquisition of colonial markets.

Socialism :

Industrialism led to social discontent—factory towns, unemployment, low wages, child labour.

Therefore Socialist revolt arose:

England—Robert Owen and the Chartists.

France—Louis Blanc and the Revolution of 1848.

Germany—Karl Marx—*Communist Manifesto* (1848) and *Capital*.

Establishment of German Working Men's Association and First International (1864-74).

XVIII. THE FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE

France, 1871-1914 :

1871. *Paris Commune*—rebellion of Paris working-class against government of Thiers and National Assembly.

Object of rising was:

1. to ensure republican form of government.

2. to set up chain of self-governing 'communes.'

Rebellion crushed by regular troops after terrible slaughter. (May). Ferocious reprisals (13,000 transported).

Next question was form of government.

Many favoured restoration of monarchy—either legitimate (Comte de Chambord) or Orleanist (Comte de Paris).

But Chambord ('Henri V') refused to recognise tricolour.

Therefore monarchical scheme had to be abandoned.

1875. Assembly passed 'Constitutional Laws':

1. President elected by two Chambers for seven years.
2. Senate of 300, chosen by indirect election.
3. Chamber of Deputies, elected by universal suffrage for four years.

Constitution endangered by three successive crises:

1877. 1. MacMahon attempted Royalist *coup d'état*—but failed and resigned (Jules Grévy, President).
1885. 2. General Boulanger tried to overthrow Constitution and establish dictatorship—but threatened with arrest—fled to Brussels—suicide.
- 1895-1906. 3. Dreyfus affair—Dreyfus sent to Devil's Island on charge of selling military secrets—charge disputed by Picquart—Dreyfus finally vindicated.

Dreyfus affair led to anti-clerical legislation—'Law of Associations' (1901) and 'disestablishment of Church' (1905).

Germany, 1871-90:

New German Empire was really an absolute despotism—its history was controlled by Bismarck to 1890 and William II after 1890. Bismarck's centralising policy led to conflict with two international forces—Catholic Church and Socialism:

1. *Kulturkampf*—'Old Catholics' objected to Papal infallibility—Bismarck supported them.
- 1873-5. 'May Laws'—expelled Jesuits, State control of education, etc.
Strong Catholic opposition—'Centre' party.
Bismarck gave way and repealed May Laws.
2. *Socialism*—Bismarck tried to suppress Socialism by vigorous persecution and by State Socialism (State insurance against sickness, accidents and old age).
But Socialist party grew stronger (gained 1½ million votes in 1890).

Adoption of protective tariffs by Bismarck due to slump, need for money and need of protection for new German industries.

Great prosperity of Germany in later nineteenth century:

1. great progress in coal-mining, steel, chemical industry and engineering.
2. growth of mercantile marine—second in world.
3. beginning of colonial Empire.

1888. Accession of William II—brilliant, but vain and showy.

1890. 'Dropping the pilot.'

XIX. RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Russian history conditioned by three factors:

1. size—Russia covered one-sixth of land-surface of earth.
2. backwardness—mediæval social conditions.
3. need for ice-free ports—led to aggressive policy abroad.

Alexander I (1801-25)—began as a Liberal ruler—generous treatment of Finland and Poland—proposed reforms.

But finally became reactionary under influence of Metternich.

Nicholas I (1825-55)—more extreme reaction, partly owing to Decembrist conspiracy.

Repressive government:

1. secret police (Third Section).
2. ferocious measures against Polish rebellion (1830).

Ambitious foreign policy—Crimean War.

Alexander II (1856-81)—also began by Liberal reforms:

1861. 1. emancipation of serfs.
1864. 2. establishment of 'Zemstvos.'
3. reform of judicial system (jury system, judges independent).
4. relaxation of repressive measures (pardon for Decembrists, less censorship of Press, etc.).

But after Polish rebellion (1863) Alexander abandoned Liberal policy and renewed repression.

Therefore revolutionary movements arose—Nihilism and Anarchism.

1881. Alexander II assassinated.

Reaction continued under last two Romanoffs:

Alexander III (1881-94).

Nicholas II (1894-1917).

But opposition grew stronger.

Coming of Socialism as Industrial Revolution began—Social Democratic party founded (1898)—strikes.

Government weakened by:

1904-5. *Russo-Japanese War*:

caused by eastward expansion of Russia at expense of Japan (e.g. Trans-Siberian railway).

1898. Russia seized Port Arthur.

1900. Russia occupied Manchuria.

1904. Japan demanded withdrawal of Russia from Manchuria and declared war.

Japanese victories at Mukden and Tsushima.

1905. *Treaty of Portsmouth:*

1. Russia gave up Port Arthur and southern part of Sakhalin.
2. Japanese influence in Korea recognised.

Defeat led to revolutionary agitation at home:

1905. January—'Red Sunday.'

October—Nicholas II's manifesto promising constitutional government.

The 'Dumas'—first and second dissolved because too independent—elections for third Duma stage-managed in order to procure subservient Assembly.

Therefore Liberal methods of reform discredited.

XX. IMPERIALISM AND WORLD POWER

Motives of Imperialism:

1. Political—1878 marked end of nation-building.
New nations wanted colonies to gratify national vanity.
2. Economic—growing industrial and commercial competition necessitated reserved colonial markets.
Also need for colonial products (rubber, copper, etc.).
Also need for field for investment of capital.
3. Other motives:
Colonies provided outlet for surplus population.
Also some imperialists believed in civilising mission of white races (e.g. Rhodes and Kipling).

Partition of Africa—Egypt and Sudan:

Africa opened up by voyages—Livingstone, Burton, Speke, Stanley.

1869. Building of Suez Canal—at first French, but Disraeli acquired controlling interest.
1876. Dual Control—England and France.
1879. Deposition of Ismail—Tewfik made Khedive.
1882. Rebellion of Arabi Pasha—crushed by Wolseley at Tel-el-Kebir.
Work of Baring in Egypt.
- 1884-5. Rebellion of Mahdi in Sudan—Gordon besieged in Khartoum.
Death of Gordon led to temporary withdrawal.
1898. Kitchener defeated Arabs at Omdurman and established British control over Sudan.
1898. Fashoda—Franco-British dispute over Upper Nile—settled peacefully.

Central Africa :

- 1876. Brussels Conference—setting up of International African Association.
- 1885. Conference at Berlin—'Berlin Congo Act'—laid down rules for colonial expansion.
- 1884-5. German acquisitions—South-West Africa, Togoland, Cameroons, German East Africa.
Followed by Italy—colonies in Eritrea and Somaliland—defeat by Abyssinians at Adowa (1896).
- 1911. Italy seized Tripoli.

South Africa :

- After Great Trek British policy tolerant—recognised independence of Orange Free State and Transvaal.
But Zulu menace led to annexation of Transvaal.
- 1881. Majuba Hill—Boers regained independence.
Growth of British occupation in Africa—acquisition of Bechuanaland, Zululand and Rhodesia.
'Uitlander' question in Transvaal.
- 1896. Jameson Raid.
- 1899-1902. Boer War—ended by subjection of Boer Republics.

Central Asia :

- Russian expansion towards Persian Gulf—conquest of Turkestan—led to British suspicion of designs on Afghanistan.
- Great Britain fought second Afghan War to establish control over Afghanistan.
- 1885. Anglo-Russian crisis—'Penjdeh incident.'

Far East :

- Earlier England had fought 'Opium War,' gained Hong-Kong and opened treaty ports.
- France had conquered French Indo-China.
- Russia had acquired Amur and Maritime Provinces.
- But competition much keener in later '90's.
- 1897. Germany seized Kiao-Chau.
- 1898. England took Wei-hai-Wei, and Russia took Port Arthur.
- This led to Russo-Japanese War and establishment of Japanese domination over Far East.

XXI. THE ALLIANCES AND THE ARMED PEACE (1870-1914)

Foreign Policy of Bismarck :

- Bismarck tried to keep France weak by encouraging her colonial ambitions at the expense of other Powers, and by building up system of German alliances.

1872. *Dreikaiserbund* (Germany, Austria and Russia)—broke down over Austro-Russian antagonism in Balkans.
1879. Austro-German alliance.
1881. Renewal of *Dreikaiserbund*.
1882. Italy joined alliance of Germany and Austria, forming the Triple Alliance (Italy annoyed by French annexation of Tunis).
- German-Russian alliance broke down—Reinsurance Treaty not renewed by William II in 1890.
1893. *Dual Alliance*—France and Russia drew together owing to:
1. joint fear of Germany.
 2. joint antagonism to Great Britain over colonial expansion.
 3. French loans to Russia.
- England decided to abandon isolation because:
1. Boer War showed British unpopularity in Europe.
 2. German sea-power was becoming dangerous—Tirpitz and the Navy Laws.
1902. Anglo-Japanese alliance.
1904. *Entente Cordiale*—France to recognise England in Egypt, England to recognise France in Morocco.
1906. *Algéciras Conference*—caused by provocative speech of Kaiser at Tangier—England supported France, and France won effective control in Morocco.
1907. *Triple Entente*—England drew closer to Russia, owing to:
1. defeat of Russia in war with Japan.
 2. growing Anglo-German rivalry (Dreadnoughts, 1906).
- England and Russia agreed to settle differences in Afghanistan, Thibet and Persia.
1908. *Bosnian Crisis*—'Young Turk' revolution led Austria to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina.
- Russia indignant, but prevented from fighting by doubtful attitude of England and France.
1911. *Agadir Crisis*—owing to French action in Morocco, Kaiser sent *Panther* to Agadir to challenge French control.
- Conference at Agadir—France loyally supported by England—Kaiser had to give way.
- Armed Peace*—years 1912-4 marked by colossal increase in armaments—Hague Conferences failed.
- Militarist propaganda, e.g. Bernhardi.

XXII. THE EASTERN QUESTION (1856-1914)

Treaty of Paris had failed to provide a permanent settlement:

1861. 1. Moldavia and Wallachia united, in defiance of the Treaty.

1870. 2. Russia denounced Black Sea clause at first opportunity.
3. Sultan broke promises to treat Christians better.
1875. Rebellion in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
'Andrassy Note'—unsuccessful attempt by Powers to settle question.
1876. 'Bulgarian atrocities'—12,000 Christians massacred.
European protest—conference summoned at Constantinople.
Conference frustrated by 'fake' reforms carried out by new Sultan (Abdul Hamid II).
- 1877-8. *Russo-Turkish War*—Russians held at Plevna, but finally captured Adrianople and threatened Constantinople.
Turks made peace.
1878. March—*Treaty of San Stefano*:
1. 'Big Bulgaria' from Danube to Ægean.
2. Independence and increased territory for Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania.
3. Russia to retain Kars and Ardahan and part of Bessarabia (Rumania to have Dobrudja in exchange).

England (Disraeli) protested and threatened war.
Therefore Russia agreed to European Conference to modify Treaty.

1878. July—*Treaty of Berlin*:
1. Bulgaria split up—Eastern Rumelia and Macedonia restored to Turkey.
2. Gains of Serbia and Montenegro reduced.
3. Russian gains to remain as in San Stefano.
4. Bosnia and Herzegovina to be administered by Austria.
5. Great Britain to occupy Cyprus.
6. Sultan to introduce reforms for Armenian Christians.

This was an unsuccessful settlement—left various Balkan States dissatisfied and led to Austro-Russian rivalry.

Bulgaria:

At first Russian influence predominant in Bulgaria—Russian officers and ministers and a pro-Russian ruler (Alexander of Battenberg).
But Russian influence opposed by patriots, led by Stambuloff.
Alexander deposed and replaced by German ruler, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg—Russian influence destroyed.
Meanwhile, influence of Central Powers in Balkans growing:

1. Rumania and Serbia allied with Austria.
2. Alliance of William II and Abdul Hamid—Berlin-Bagdad railway scheme.

1908. Young Turk Revolution—deposition of Abdul Hamid.
 Led to annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria.
 This caused a severe crisis—Russia was furious, and Serbia
 wanted to fight—but Russia weakened by Japanese War,
 and had to give way.

Balkan Wars :

1911. Italy seized Tripoli.
 Balkan States decided to grab share of spoils.
1912. Alliance between Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro.
- 1912-3. *1st Balkan War*—Allies victorious—Turks had to accept
 Treaty of London, by which they gave up all European
 possessions except area round Constantinople.
 But now Allies quarrelled over division of spoil.
1913. *2nd Balkan War*—Serbia, Greece and Rumania v.
 Bulgaria.
 Bulgaria had to accept *Treaty of Bucharest* :
 1. Bulgaria gave up Southern Dobrudja and Mace-
 donia.
 2. Turks recovered Adrianople.
- These wars upset balance of power—they strengthened
 Serbia at expense of *protégés* of Central Powers (Turkey
 and Bulgaria).
 Therefore Austria waited for opportunity to strike at
 Serbia.
1914. June 28—Assassination of Francis Ferdinand (heir to
 throne) at Serajevo by Bosnian Serbs.

XXIII. THE GREAT WAR

1914. July 5—Germany promised unconditional support to
 Austria in dealing with Serbia.
- „ 23—Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.
- „ 28—Austria declared war on Serbia.
- „ 20—Russia mobilised.
- August 1—Germany declared war on Russia.
- „ 3—Germany declared war on France.
- „ 4—British ultimatum to Germany expired.

Opening Phases of War :

'Schlieffen Plan' (1905) demanded overwhelming strength
 on German right wing.
 Not properly executed by German commander-in-chief
 (Moltke).
 Therefore Germans held outside Paris (Battle of *Marne*,
 September 6-9).
 Followed by 'race to sea'—establishment of long front from
 Nieuport to Swiss frontier.

1915. Unsuccessful attempts to break through—battles of *Neuve Chapelle*, *Ypres*, *Loos*, etc.).

Eastern Front :

1914. August 26–29—Battle of *Tannenberg*—Russian invasion of East Prussia repulsed.
But Russians defeated Austrians and conquered Galicia.
1915. Falkenhayn executed great offensive against Russians, and drove them back to *Pripiet Marshes*.

Near East :

- Turkey joined Central Powers, October 1914.
Two attempts by British to 'knock out' Turkey:
1. *Dardanelles Expedition*—failed owing to inadequate reinforcements and strong defence by *Liman von Sanders*.
 2. *Mesopotamia*—*Townshend* advanced up *Tigris-Euphrates* valley, but was besieged and forced to surrender at *Kut*.
1915. Bulgaria joined Central Powers—defeat of Serbia.
But Italy entered war on side of Allies.

Events of 1916 :

- On Western Front—two great battles:
1. *Verdun* (February–June)—German attack on French fortress.
 2. *Somme* (July–November)—English attempt to break through.
- On Eastern Front—great offensive by General *Brussiloff* brought Rumania into war on side of Allies—but *Brussiloff* stopped and Rumania conquered.
- At sea—first and last big sea battle—*Jutland* (May 31)—actual engagement indecisive, but German fleet retired to harbour.
British sea-power played very important part—facilitated transport of troops and enabled Allies to establish a blockade which gradually wore out Central Powers.

Submarine Campaign :

- Germany despaired of decisive victory in West.
Therefore decided to defeat England by starvation.
1917. January—Declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare.
April—U.S.A. declared war on Germany.
Assistance of America enabled Great Britain to defeat submarine menace by:
1. convoys.
 2. depth charges and decoy ships.

Russian Revolution :

- Weakness of Russian Government—Czarina dominated by *Rasputin*.
Defeat in war—army starving and mutinous.

1917. March—Strikes—collapse of Czardom—Provisional Government under Prince Lvov (later under Kerensky).
November—Bolsheviks seized power and ended war.
1918. March—*Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*—huge losses by Russia in West.

Other Allied Reverses in 1917 :

1917. October—*Caporetto*—crushing defeat of Italians—last desperate stand on River Piave.
1917. April—failure of Nivelle offensive—mutiny in French army.
Autumn—failure of British offensive at *Passchendaele*.
Only success was taking of Jerusalem by Allenby (December).

Armistice :

1918. March—beginning of last German offensive—gained great successes, and drove back Allied line at all points.
But exhausted by July, and Foch (now Allied Commander-in-Chief) counter-attacked and drove back Germans over 'Hindenburg Line.'
1918. September—Bulgaria defeated and made armistice.
October—victories of Allenby in Syria knocked Turkey out of war.
November—defeat of Austrians on Piave compelled Austria to surrender—revolution in Germany.
November 11—Armistice.

XXIV. EUROPE SINCE THE WAR (1918-39)

Peace Treaties were really the work of a little group of statesmen representing victorious Great Powers—especially Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

Settlement based on existing secret treaties and Wilson's 'Fourteen Points'—contained in four treaties (Versailles, St Germain, Trianon and Neuilly).

Territorial Rearrangements :

1. Germany lost Alsace-Lorraine to France, Eupen-Malmédy to Belgium, West Prussia, Posen and Silesia to Poland, Northern Schleswig to Denmark.
Also Rhineland demilitarised and Saar coalfields handed over temporarily to France.
2. Hapsburg Empire split up:
Bohemia, Moravia and Austrian Silesia became Czechoslovakia.
Galicia given to Poland.
Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina joined to Serbia and Montenegro to form Yugoslavia.
Transylvania to Rumania, Trentino, Trieste and Southern Tyrol to Italy.

3. Bulgaria lost remnant of Macedonia and the Dobrudja.
4. Turkey was to have been reduced to portion of Asia Minor, but resistance under Mustapha Kemal enabled it to regain Thrace, Smyrna and Armenia.

Reparations and Disarmament :

German army reduced to 100,000, conscription abolished, navy limited.

Colonies handed over to victorious Powers under 'Mandate.'

Germany accepted responsibility for war, and was to pay sum of £6,600,000,000 in compensation.

League of Nations :

Covenant incorporated in Treaties owing to insistence of Wilson.

Members agreed to abandon war, carry out disarmament, submit disputes to arbitration.

Constitution—Assembly, Council, Secretariat.

Offshoots—International Court of Justice and International Labour Office.

League weakened by refusal of U.S.A. to join.

Did some good work in 'twenties, but broke down in 'thirties owing to aggression by Great Powers.

International Relations (1919-39) :

Three periods:

1919-24. 1. French quest for security—alliances with Poland and 'Little Entente'—invasion of Ruhr—collapse of Germany.

1924-29. 2. Appeasement and conciliation—reduction of reparations by Dawes and Young Plans—Locarno and Kellogg Pacts.

1929-39. 3. Recurrent crisis—Great Depression led to tariff wars, unemployment, dictatorships.

Open aggression—Japan in Manchuria, Italy in Abyssinia and Albania, Germany in Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Growth of Dictatorship :

Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, dictatorship in Poland, Yugoslavia, Russia, Turkey.

Emergence of new totalitarian philosophy.

Growing danger of world war.

INDEX

- Abdul Aziz, 192, 193.
 Abdul Hamid II, 193-194, 199, 200.
 Abercromby, 45.
 Aberdeen, Lord, 112.
 Abyssinia, 177, 233.
 Acre, 44.
 Adrianople, 194, 201-202.
 Albania, 201-202, 233.
 Afghanistan, 180, 186, 189.
 Agadir, 190.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Congress of, 77-78, 81.
 Alexander I of Russia, 52, 54-55, 62-64, 70, 73, 79-80, 85, 108, 164-165.
 Alexander II of Russia, 117, 166-168, 183.
 Alexander III of Russia, 168.
 Alexander of Yugoslavia, 234.
 Algeciras, Conference of, 188.
 Algeria, 173.
 Allenby, General, 222, 223.
 Alsace-Lorraine, 144-145, 172, 190, 226, 228.
 Amur Province, 169, 181.
 Anarchism, 168.
 Andrassy Note, 193.
 Arabi Bey, 175.
 Artois, Count of (Charles X), 50, 76, 81-82.
 Assembly, Legislative, 16, 19-22.
 Assembly, National, 14.
Assignats, 17, 24.
 Augereau, 40.
 Augustenburg, Duke of, 131-133.
Ausgleich, the, 136.
 Babeuf, Gracchus, 40.
 Baden, 94, 137.
 Baden, Prince Max of, 224.
 Bagdad Railway, the, 199, 206.
 Bakunin, 168.
Banalités, 9.
 Barclay de Tolly, 63.
 Baring, Sir Evelyn, 175.
 Barras, 33, 39, 41, 46.
 Barthélemy, 39-40.
 Bastille, the, 15.
 Battenberg, Alexander of, 198.
 Battles—
 Adowa, 177.
 Aspern-Essling, 62.
 Auerstadt, 54.
 Austerlitz, 53.
 Balaclava, 115.
 Borodino, 63.
 Calatafimi, 125.
 Camperdown, 44.
 Cape Finisterre, 52.
 Cape St Vincent, 44.
 Caporetto, 221.
 Castelfidardo, 126.
 Copenhagen, 48.
 Coronel, 218.
 Custoza, 97, 101.
 Eylau, 54.
 Falkland Isles, 218.
 Fleurus, 29.
 Friedland, 54.
 Hohenlinden, 48.
 Inkermann, 115.
 Jémappes, 25.
 Jena, 54.
 Jutland, 218.
 Konieh, 110.
 Königgrätz (Sadowa), 134.
 Langensalza, 134.
 Leipzig, 64.
 Ligny, 67.
 Lodi, 42.
 Loos, 210.
 Lützen, 64.

Battles—*continued*

- Magenta, 122.
 Majuba, 179.
 Marengo, 48.
 Marne, 209-210.
 Mukden, 170.
 Navarino, 108.
 Neerwinden, 26.
 Nessib, 111.
 Nile, 44.
 Novara, 102.
 Omdurman, 176.
 Passchendaele, 222.
 Pyramids, 44.
 Quatre-bras, 67.
 Rivoli, 43.
 Sedan, 144.
 Solferino, 122.
 Somme, 216.
 Spicheren, 143.
 Talavera, 61.
 Tannenberg, 212.
 Tchernaya, 115.
 Tel-el-Kebir, 175.
 Trafalgar, 52.
 Tsushima, 170.
 Ulundi, 179.
 Valmy, 24.
 Verdun, 216.
 Vimiero, 60.
 Vittoria, 61.
 Wagram, 62.
 Waterloo, 67-68.
 Wattignies, 29.
 Wörth, 143.
 Ypres, 210.
 Bavaria, 53, 94, 137, 140.
 Baylen, capitulation of, 60.
 Bazaine, 143, 145.
 Beatty, Admiral, 218.
 Beauharnais, Josephine, 41.
 Belgium, 25, 43, 69, 83-84, 140, 208-209.
 Benedetti, 140, 141.
 Berchtold, Count, 204.
 Berlin Act, 177.
 Berlin, Congress of, 179, 184, 195-196.
 Berlin Decrees, the, 54, 58.
 Bernadotte, 64.
 Bernhardt, General, 191.
 Berri, Duc de, 81.
 Bessarabia, 106, 194, 196.
 Bethmann-Hollweg, 206.
 Beust, Count, 136.
 Biarritz, 132.
 Bismarck, 96, 126, 129-134, 137, 140-142, 145-146, 159-162, 183-185, 195.
 Black Sea, the, 106, 114, 116, 142, 192.
 Blanc, Louis, 88, 90, 139, 151.
 Blücher, 64, 65, 66-68.
 Boer War, the, 179, 186.
 Bohemia, 64, 96.
 Bolsheviks, the, 220-221.
 Bonaparte, Jerome, 55, 56.
 Bonaparte, Joseph, 56, 60.
 Bonaparte, Louis, 56.
 Bonaparte, Napoleon, *see* Napoleon.
 Bosnia, 189, 192, 196, 200, 204.
 Boulanger, General, 157.
 Boxer Rising, the, 170, 181.
 Brissot, 19, 21, 29.
 Brumaire, *coup d'état* of, 46.
 Brunswick, Duke of, 22, 23, 24-25.
 Brussiloff, General, 217.
 Bulgaria, 193-198, 201-202, 215, 223, 228.
 Bulgarian Atrocities, the, 192.
 Byron, Lord, 108.
 Cadiz, Duke of, 88.
 Cadoudal, 51.
Cahiers, 12, 13.
 Calendar, revolutionary, the, 30, 32.
 Calonne, 10, 11.
 Cameroons, the, 177, 229.
 Canning, 79-80, 108.
 Cape Colony, 71, 178.
 Capodistrias, 107.
Carbonari, the, 85.
 Carlsbad, Decrees, the, 77.
 Carnot, 28, 29, 39-40.
 Castlereagh, Lord, 70, 73, 75, 78.
 Catherine II, 3, 5, 25, 106, 164.
 Cavaignac, General, 90.
 Cavour, Count, 99, 103, 115, 118, 120-126.
 Chambord, Comte de, 154-155.
 Charles IV of Spain, 59-60.

- Charles of Austria, Archduke, 45, 62.
 Charles Albert of Sardinia, 100-102, 120.
 Cherasco, Armistice of, 42.
 China, 181, 234.
 Christian IX of Denmark, 131-132.
 Churchill, Winston, 191, 214, 217.
 Cintra, Convention of, 60.
 Clemenceau, 222, 225.
 Coalition, First, 25-26, 32.
 Coalition, Second, 45, 47.
 Coalition, Third, 51-52.
Code Civile, 49.
 Codrington, Sir Richard, 108.
 Committee of General Security, 28.
 Committee of Public Safety, 28.
Communist Manifesto, the, 151.
 Concordat, the, 49.
 Confederation of the Rhine, 53.
 Confederation, German, 73, 94.
 Confederation, North German, 134.
 Congo Free State, the, 177.
 Congress System, the, 74, 77-80.
 Constantinople, Patriarch of, 107, 108.
 Continental System, the, 54, 56-57, 63.
 Convention, National, 23-33.
 Couza, Alexander, 192.
 Creusot, le, 152.
 Crimean War, the, 7, 152.
 Cyprus, 195-196.
 Czechoslovakia, 228, 231, 233.
 Danton, 8, 22, 23, 24, 30, 35.
 Dardanelles, the, 110-111, 214.
 Dawes Plan, the, 232.
 Deak, Francis, 136.
 Décazes, 81.
 Decembrist revolt, the, 165.
 Declaration of Independence, the, 10.
 Declaration of the Rights of Man, the, 16.
 Delcassé, 187-188.
 Desmoulins, Camille, 15, 35.
 Directory, the, 32, 39-41, 45-46.
 Disraeli, 175, 179, 193, 195-196.
 Dobrudja, the, 195-196, 212, 228.
 Dreadnoughts, 188.
Dreikaiserbund, 182-185.
 Dreyfus case, the, 157-158.
 Dual Alliance, the, 172, 185-186.
 Dual Control, the, 175.
 Duma, the, 171.
 Dumouriez, 21, 24-26.
 Eastern Rumelia, 195, 198.
 Ebert, 224.
 Edict of Emancipation, the, 166-167.
 Egypt, 44-45, 110-111, 175, 187.
 Elba, 65, 66.
Emden, the, 217.
Emigrés, 18, 20, 21, 24, 40, 50, 66, 82.
 Enghien, Duc d', 51.
Entente Cordiale, the, 182.
 Enver Bey, 200.
 Erfurt, Conference of, 60.
 Esterhazy, Major, 157.
 Eugénie, Empress, 144.
 Falkenhayn, General, 212, 216, 217.
 Fashoda, 176, 186.
 Favre, Jules, 144.
 Ferdinand, Emperor, 98.
 Ferdinand I of Naples, 78.
 Ferdinand II of Naples, 100-102.
 Ferdinand VII of Spain, 59-60, 76, 78.
 Ferdinand of Bulgaria, 198, 200, 202, 215.
Feuillants, the, 19.
 Foch, Marshal, 223-224.
 Fouché, 31, 76.
 Francis II, Emperor of Austria, 21, 43, 52, 70.
 Francis II of Naples, 125.
 Francis Ferdinand, Archduke, 204.
 Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 98, 136, 183.
 Frankfort Parliament, the, 95-96, 128.
 Frederick the Great, 3, 5.

- Frederick VII of Denmark, 131-132.
 Frederick William II of Prussia, 20, 25.
 Frederick William III of Prussia, 54, 76.
 Frederick William IV of Prussia, 94-95, 99, 128.
 French, Sir John, 209-210.
- Gabelle*, the, 9.
 Gallipoli, 214-215.
 Gambetta, 144, 145.
 Garibaldi, 102, 124-126.
 Gastein, Convention of, 132-133.
 George, David Lloyd, 190, 206, 214, 225.
 Gilchrist-Thomas process, the, 150.
 Gioberti, 99, 120.
 Girondins, the, 19-27.
 Giulay, Count, 122.
 Gladstone, 120, 176, 179, 180, 193, 196.
 Gordon, General, 176.
 Görgei, 98.
 Gramont, de, 141.
 Greece, 107-109, 196, 199, 201-202, 229, 231.
 Greek Orthodox Church, the, 113, 164.
 Grèvy, Jules, 157.
 Grey, Sir Edward, 191, 206.
 Guizot, 87, 89.
- Hague Conferences, the, 190.
 Haig, Earl, 210.
 Hanover, 94, 99, 134.
 Hardenberg, 70.
 Haussmann, 139.
 Haynau, General, 98.
 Hébert, 30.
 Herzegovina, 189, 192, 196, 200, 204.
Heitairia Philiké, the, 107.
 Hindenburg, 212, 217.
 Hindenburg Line, the, 221, 223.
 Hitler, 234.
 Hoche, 29.
 Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Leopold of, 141.
 Holy Alliance, the, 73, 165.
- Holy Places, the, 113.
 Holy Roman Empire, the, 2, 53, 69.
 Hötzendorf, Conrad von, 204.
 Hugo, Victor, 139.
 Humboldt, 59.
 Hungary, 96-98, 136, 228.
 Hypsilanti, Prince, 107.
- Ibrahim Pasha, 108, 110, 111.
 Illyrian Provinces, the, 62, 69.
 International African Association, the, 176-177.
 Isabella of Spain, 88, 141.
 Ismail, Khedive of Egypt, 175.
 Isonzo, the, 216, 221.
- Jacobins, the, 19, 23, 31-32, 40.
 Jameson raid, the, 179.
 Jellachich, Count, 98.
 Jellicoe, Admiral, 218.
 Jesuits, the, 76, 82.
 Joffre, Marshal, 209.
 Joseph II, Emperor, 5.
 Jourdan, 29, 42.
 Juarez, President, 138.
 Jugoslavia, 228, 234.
- Kara George, 107.
 Kars, 115, 194.
 Kellogg Pact, the, 232.
 Kemal, Mustapha, 215, 229.
 Kerensky, 220-221.
 Khartoum, 176.
 Kiao-chau, 181, 219.
 Kipling, Rudyard, 174.
 Kitchener, Lord, 176.
 Korea, the, 170, 181.
 Kossuth, Louis, 93, 96, 98.
 Kotzebue, 77.
 Kruger, Paul, 179.
Kulturkampf, the, 159-160.
 Kut, 215.
 Kutusov, 63.
- Lafayette, Marquis de, 10, 16, 34, 82.
 Laibach, 78.
 Lamartine, 89.
 Lansdowne, Lord, 187.
 Lasalle, 151.
 Lawrence, Colonel T. E., 222.

- League of Nations, the, 230-231, 232, 233.
 Lenin, 220.
 Leopold II, Emperor of Austria, 20.
 Leopold II of Belgium, 176-177.
 Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 175.
Lettres de cachet, 14.
 Liman von Sanders, General, 215.
 Little Entente, the, 231.
 Livingstone, Dr, 175.
 Locarno, 232.
Loi Falloux, the, 91.
 Lombardy, 71, 76, 124.
 Louis XVI of France, 5, 10-11, 13-14, 16-24.
 Louis XVIII of France, 65-66, 75, 81.
 Louis Philippe, 82-83, 86-89.
 Ludendorff, Erich von, 212, 217, 221, 223.
Lusitania, the, 219.
 Luxemburg, Grand Duchy of, 140.
 Macedonia, 194, 196, 201-202, 228.
 Mack, General, 53.
 MacMahon, Marshal, 143-144, 155-157.
 Mahdi, the, 175-176.
 Mahmud II, Sultan, 108-111.
 Malta, 44, 52, 71.
 Manchukuo, 232.
 Manchuria, 170, 232.
 Mandat, 22.
 Mandates, 229.
 Manin, Daniel, 100.
 Mantua, 43.
 Marat, 23, 26.
 March Laws, the, 96.
 Marchand, 176.
 Marie Antoinette, 11, 29.
 Marie Louise, 62.
Marseillaise, the, 22.
 Marx, Karl, 151.
 Masséna, 45, 48, 61.
 Maude, Sir Stanley, 215.
 Maximilian, Archduke, 138-139.
 Maximum, Law of the, 30, 31.
 May Laws, the, 159-160.
 Mazzini, 93, 99, 101, 119.
 Mehemet Ali, 87, 108-111.
 Melas, 48.
 Menshikov, 113, 115.
 Metternich, 62, 70, 73, 76-80, 97, 100, 108.
 Metz, 144-145.
 Mexican expedition, the, 138-139.
 Milan Decrees, the, 58.
 Mirabeau, 14, 18, 33-34.
 Modena, 73, 85, 100, 102, 122, 124.
 Moldavia, 106, 107, 113, 116, 192.
 Moltke von, General, 111, 130, 133, 142.
 Moltke von, the younger, 209.
 Monroe Doctrine, the, 80, 138.
 Montenegro, 193, 194, 196.
 Montesquieu, 9, 16.
 Montpensier, Duc de, 88.
 Moore, Sir John, 60-61.
 Morea, the, 79, 107-108.
 Moreau, 42, 45, 48, 51.
 Morocco, 187-188, 189-190.
 Moscow, 63.
 Murat, 46, 56.
 Mussolini, 126, 234.
 Napoleon I, 29, 33, 41 *seq.*, 89, 119.
 Napoleon III, 89, 90-92, 112 *seq.*
 National Workshops, 88, 90.
 Necker, 11, 14, 15.
 Nelson, 44, 48, 52.
 Netherlands, Kingdom of, 73, 83.
 Ney, Marshal, 64, 66, 76.
 Nice, 42, 121, 124.
 Nicholas I of Russia, 85, 98, 108, 112-113, 115, 165-166.
 Nicholas II of Russia, 168, 170-171, 190, 212, 220.
 Nightingale, Florence, 115.
 Nihilism, 168.
 Nivelle, General, 221-222.
 Ollivier, Emile, 139, 142, 143.
 Olmütz, 99, 128.
 Orders in Council, the, 58.

Orlando, 225.
 Orsini, 121.
 Osman Pasha, 194.
 Otto of Bavaria, 110.

Palermo, 125.
 Palikao, Count, 143.
 Palmerston, 84, 87, 110-111,
 112, 131.
 Pan-Slav movement, the, 189.
Paniher, the, 190.
 Paris, Commune of (1870), 151,
 153-155.

Paris, Comte de, 154-155.
Parlement de Paris, 11.
 Parma, 73, 85, 100, 102, 122,
 124.

Peninsular War, the, 59-61.
 Persia, 189.

Pétain, Marshal, 222.
 Peter the Great, 164.
 Peter, King of Serbia, 200.
 Philippe Egalité, 29.
 Physiocrats, the, 9.
 Pichegru, 29, 32, 51.
 Picquart, Colonel, 157.
 Pillnitz, Declaration of, 20.
 Pilsudski, Marshal, 234.
 Pitt, the younger, 25, 52.
 Pius VII, 51.

Pius IX, 99, 100-102, 160.
 Plevna, 194.
 Plombières, 121.
 Poincaré, 231.

Poland, 5, 25, 71, 85, 131-132,
 165-167, 228, 234.
 Polignac, Prince de, 82.
 Polish corridor, the, 228.
 Port Arthur, 169-170, 181.
 Prague, 94, 96, 97.

Quadrilateral, the, 101, 122-123.
 Quadruple Alliance, the, 73, 77.
 Queretaro, 139.

Radetsky, 97, 101-102.
 Railways, 149.
 Randon, Marshal, 137.
 Rasputin, 220.
 Red Sunday, 170.
 Reinsurance Treaty, the, 185.

Republic, Batavian, 45, 46.
 Cisalpine, 43, 46.
 Helvetic, 45, 46.
 Ligurian, 46.

Rhodes, Cecil, 174, 179.
 Richelieu, Duc de, 76, 81.
 Robespierre, 8, 23, 28, 30-31,
 35-36.

Romagna, the, 122, 124.
 Rome, 101-102, 126-127.

Roon, von, 129.

Rossi, 101.

Rousseau, 6, 10.

Ruhr valley, the, 150, 231.

Rumania, 192, 194, 196, 198,
 202, 217, 229.

Russo-Japanese War, the, 168-
 170, 181, 188.

Russo-Turkish War, the, 194.

Saar basin, the, 228.

St Cloud, Ordinances of, 82.

St Helena, 68.

St Petersburg, 78, 164, 170.

Salonica, 201, 204, 216, 223.

Sardinia, Kingdom of, 42, 73.

Savoy, 42, 121, 124.

Saxe-Coburg, Leopold of, 84.

Saxony, 71, 99, 134.

Scharnhorst, 59.

Scheer, Admiral von, 218.

Schleswig-Holstein question,
 131-133.

Schlieffen plan, the, 208-209,
 210.

Schwarzenberg, General, 64, 65.

Schwarzenberg, Prince, 98-99,
 118.

Sebastopol, 114-115.

September Massacres, 22-23.

Serajevo, 202-205.

Serbia, 107, 116, 189, 193 *seq.*,
 214-216.

Seven Weeks' War, the, 133-
 134.

Seymour, Sir Hamilton, 112.

Sicily, Kingdom of, 73.

Sieyès, 40, 46.

Sinope, 'Massacre' of, 113.

Smith, Sir Sidney, 44.

Socialism, 88, 148, 151-152, 160-
 161.

Sonderbund, the, 87.
 Spain, 56, 59-61, 76, 78-79, 87-88, 141, 234.
 Spee, Admiral von, 218.
 Stambuloff, Stephen, 198.
 Stanley, H. M., 175, 177.
 States-General, the, 12-14.
 Stein, 58-59.
 Straits Convention, the, 111.
 Stratford de Redcliffe, Lord, 112, 113-114.
 Sudan, the, 175-176.
 Suez Canal, the, 175.
 Suspects, Law of, 29.
 Suvorov, 45.
 Switzerland, 69, 87.
 Syria, 44, 110-111.

Taille, the, 9.
 Talleyrand, 37-38, 46, 70-71, 76, 82.
 Tewfik, 175.
Thermidor, 31.
 Thiers, 82, 83, 87, 139, 144-145, 153-155.
 Tirpitz, Admiral, 187.
 Togo, Admiral, 170.
 Togoland, 177, 229.
 Torres Vedras, lines of, 61.
 Toulon, 29, 52.
 Toussaint l'Ouverture, 51.
 Townshend, General, 215.
 Trans-Siberian Railway, the, 169, 181.
 Transvaal, the, 179, 180 (note).
 Treaties—

Adrianople, 109.
 Amiens, 49.
 Berlin, 116, 195-196, 199, 201.
 Brest-Litovsk, 221.
 Bucharest, 202-204.
 Campo-Formio, 43.
 Chaumont, 65.
 Fontainebleau, 65.
 Frankfort, 145, 153.
 Lausanne, 229.
 London (1913), 202.
 Lunéville, 48.
 Neuilly, 226.
 Paris (1814), 65, 69.
 Paris (1815), 70.
 Paris (1856), 115-116, 192.

Treaties—continued

Portsmouth, 170, 182.
 Prague, 126, 134.
 Pressburg, 53.
 St Germain, 226.
 San Stefano, 194-195.
 Schönbrunn, 62.
 Sèvres, 229.
 Tilsit, 55.
 Tolentino, 43.
 Trianon, 226.
 Unkiar Skelessi, 110-111.
 Vereeniging, 179.
 Versailles, 224-230.
 Vienna (1815), 70-74.
 Vienna (1864), 132.
 Zurich, 124.
 Trentino and Trieste, 184, 216, 228.
 Triple Alliance, the, 172, 182-183.
 Triple Entente, the, 187-189.
 Tripoli, 177, 201.
 Troppau, Congress of, 78.
 Trotsky, 220.
 Tunis, 172, 176, 185.
 Turgot, 11.
 Turkestan, 173, 180.
 Tuscany, 73, 122, 124.
 Tyrol, the, 53, 62, 71, 216.

Uitlanders, the, 179.
 Ulm, capitulation of, 53.

Varennes, flight to, 18.
 Vendée, the, 26, 28-29.
 Venice, 71, 76, 100, 102, 124, 126, 133, 134.
 Verona, Congress of, 79.
 Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia, 120, 122, 124, 126.
 Vienna, Congress of, 69-74.
 Vienna Note, the, 113.
 Villagos, 98.
 Villafranca, armistice of, 124.
 Villèle, 79, 81-82.
 Villeneuve, 52.
 Vladivostock, 169.
 Voltaire, 6, 10.
 Volturno, River, 125-126.

- Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 174.
Wallachia, 106, 113, 116, 192.
Warsaw, Duchy of, 55, 63, 69,
71.
Wellington, Duke of, 60-61, 66-
68, 70, 108.
Westphalia, Kingdom of, 55, 69.
William I of Holland, 83-84.
William I of Prussia, 128-129,
141, 146, 162.
William II, Kaiser, 162, 185,
186-187, 189, 199, 206, 224.
Wilson, President, 219, 225-226,
230.
- Windischgrätz, Prince, 97-98.
Wolseley, Sir Garnet, 175, 176.
Württemberg, 53, 137.
- Young, Arthur, 9.
Young Italy, Society of, 93, 99,
119.
Young Plan, 232.
Young Turk Revolution, 189,
199, 200.
- Zemstvos*, the, 167-168.
Zola, Emile, 157.
Zollverein, the, 126.

3-12